

Excerpts from
Prosecution Witness JOHN B. POWELL's Book
"MY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN CHINA"

(New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945)

Shantung and Washington

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As Cochran explained to me, the Republicans were under heavy obligations to do something about the so-called Far Eastern Question "because they owed their election largely to this issue." Cochran, of course, admitted that behind this incentive was a desire on the part of some members of the new administration to uphold traditional American policies in the Far East, particularly the Open Door in China. Turning to me he said, "You have lived in China, what about the Open Door?"

I explained that along about 1898-1900 it appeared that China was on the point of being divided among the Powers. Russia had taken advantage of the Boxer incident to overrun Manchuria. Great Britain had established herself in the Yangtze Valley, and had taken steps to develop a naval base at the port of Wei-hai-wei. Germany had seized Kiaochow Bay, and was building a naval base at Tsingtao. The Japanese, who were late at the banquet, were preparing to fight the Russians for a share of Manchuria. The French had Indo-China, and a concession on the South China coast at Kwangchow.

The Americans were definitely left out with no concessions, or spheres of influence, on the continent of Asia. It was at this point that Secretary of State John Hay made his proposal for an "Open Door" doctrine in Asia. Since Hay had been Minister to Great Britain, it was suspected that Great Britain was behind the program. And such was the case, as British commercial interests realized that the trade of a unified China was worth more than the exclusive trade of a section of the country.

The British also did not want to face the consequences of carving up a nation of 400,000,000 souls. They feared repercussions in European politics. A mission to the Far East, headed by Admiral Lord Balfour had returned by way of Washington and consulted with the Americans.

Hence the Open Door, proposed in a series of notes to the other Powers by John Hay. It amounted to a repudiation of the "sphere of influence" policies of the other nations. The Open Door in the Far East took its place with the Monroe Doctrine as an American foreign policy.

We had heeded Washington's advice about keeping free of Europe's quarrels (up to World War I), but never hesitated to involve ourselves in Asiatic politics, seemingly without objection on the part of the American public.

検察証人ジョン・ビー・パウエル著

「在支二十五年」 教 草

（一九四五年ニューヨーク・マクミラン社版）

山 東 ト 義 府 （七三頁より）

コクランの説明より、夫婦は所謂「東同道」にし是よさも何ゆかの手を打たざるを得ない立場にあつた。何せばれど同黨は遷都の際にこの間のおかげで投票を得てゐたからである。コクランは勿論この切締の背後には米國の傳統的な江東政派就中門戸開放を維持しようとする新政府部内の一分子の意圖の存することを認めてゐた。「君は又都に住んでゐたのだから訊ねるが、門戸開放をどう考へるかね」 と彼は私に訊ねた。

そこで私は次のやうに説明した。

一八九八一一九〇〇年頃の支那は列強に分割される危険に處してゐた。即ちロシヤは、和日事件を口實に渤海に侵入し、英國は渤海江流域に足跡をかため、且つ威海衛に軍港を設ける準備に着手してゐた。またドイツは

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RETURN TO ROOM 361

膠州灣を掌中に收め、當時青島に軍港を築造中であつた。一方一足遅れた日本も清洲の一部の分り前にあづからうとして對馬戰争を準備してゐた。またフランスは印度支那を手中に收め、更に南支海岸の廣州灣に租借地を獲得してゐた。

池方米國はすつかり他國に光を越されて、アジヤ大陸に於て租界をも勢力圏をも取得し得なかつた。ジョン・ヘイ國務長官が例の「門戸開放」主義を提案したのは丁度この頃であつた。ヘイは以前は英公使だつたことがあつたため、この計畫の裏には英國のさしがねがゐるのではないかといふ観測もあつた。事實、その當時英國の商業積益は支那の一部分に於ける貿易よりも却つて支那全体に於けるへる者註目田な貿易の方が有利な情勢にあつたのである。

のみならず英國は四億もの大人口を有する國家を開拓した場合生ずべき結果を好ましく思はなかつた。英國は歐洲政治に於けるその反響を恐れた。當時英國からは提督ピアス・フィード卿を首班とする便節団が恵東に派遣され、途中華府に立寄つて米國當局と會談の後帰國したばかりであつた。

この結果生れたのがジョン・ヘイにより列強に對する連續せる覺書の形式で提議された門戸開放であつた。これは結局に於て他國の所謂「勢力圏」政策の中止を意味した。極東に於ける門戸開放は米國の外交政策としてモンロー主義と相並ぶに至つた。

我々は歐洲の諸紛争に巻込まれるな（第一次世界大戦まで）といふ米國政府の戒めをよく守つてはゐたが、一方アジヤの政治にはためらふことなく首をつゝこんだ。

そしてこれに對しては米國の輿論にも反対はないやうであつた。

Not Admitted

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Shantung and Washington

Pages 75 and 76

And now to return to the subject of the Conference:

After considerable thought the State Department finally decided to invite the Chinese to send a delegation. It was the first time China had ever sat in an international conference as a "free and independent Power." This element aroused so much enthusiasm in China that the Government sent a delegation of about three hundred persons, including secretaries, stenographers, and assistants; so many in fact that Dr. Sze, the Minister, had difficulty in feeding and housing them.

Since the State Department's invitation was sent to the Peking Government, the Kuomintang regime at Canton immediately raised a tremendous howl and sent a rival delegation which sniped at the Peking delegates throughout the meeting. There was even an attempt to assassinate Dr. Sun at Canton during the conference.

The Japanese were not enthusiastic about the Washington Conference, and approached the meeting somewhat in the mood of a naughty child called to the teacher's desk for a reprimand. They were suspicious of the conference because they knew it was designed primarily to obstruct their schemes for China. But with their potential ally, Germany, out of the running and with Russia involved in a communist revolution at her very back door, the Japanese felt it would be better to attend than stay out. Japan's acceptance of the invitation was actually not received until two weeks after all the other official acceptances were in; and it was widely reported that Japan's decision to attend the conference resulted from assurances from British sources that Japan "would not be treated badly" at the meeting. However, any assurances from British circles could hardly have carried much weight, in view of the fact that one of the chief objectives of the conference, though not stated in the formal invitation, was to abrogate the Anglo-Japanese alliance.

Although strong opposition to the continuance of the Anglo-Japanese alliance had developed in the United States during the war, it was the opposition of the Dominion of Canada that forced Great Britain to give serious consideration to the matter of discontinuing the pact. The Canadians felt, as did Americans, that the belligerent clauses in the alliance imposed dangerous obligations on Great Britain in the event of an outbreak of war between Japan and the United States. The Canadians, due to the geographical situation of the two countries, also had experienced complications with Japan over immigration questions. Immigration complications which the United States had experienced with Japan in California in 1908 were paralleled in Canada. Thus, when American-Japanese relations became acute in 1921, the Dominion of Canada was more affected by the so-called "North American" point of view as opposed to the London "imperial" viewpoint. In consequence there developed in Canada a national demand for termination of the alliance.

Pages 76, 77, and 78.

Arthur Meighen, the Canadian Premier, urged the substitution of a four-Power conference on Pacific affairs, to be participated in by the United States, Britain, China, and Japan. But at the Imperial Conference in London Meighen's efforts met strong opposition not only from Lloyd George, but from Curzon, Balfour, and Lee, all of whom feared the menace of an antagonized Japan toward India and Britain's other territorial and economic stakes in Eastern Asia and the Pacific. In the hot debate which ensued the delegates from Australia, New Zealand and India sided with Britain, while South Africa favored revision rather than abrogation. But Meighen stood his ground, and ultimately brought the imperial conference around to his point of view. It was this discussion in the Imperial Conference, plus England's desire to reach an understanding with the United States on the limitation of naval construction, that paved the way for the calling of the Washington Conference.

Aside from France and Italy, which possessed naval armament of considerable strength, and also held concessions in China, the other European Powers invited to the conference--Netherlands, Belgium, and Portugal--held either concessions in China or colonial territories in the region of the Pacific.

The conference in many ways was of unusual significance: it was America's initial attempt to invoke an international conference for the purpose of reaching a peaceful settlement of questions which had long threatened war in the Pacific. Attendance was entirely voluntary in the sense that the conference was not made up of delegates representing victorious and vanquished nations, as had been the case at Versailles. The British delegation was made up of representatives not only of Great Britain but of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and India.

European and Japanese delegates were astonished when Charles E. Hughes, chairman of the American delegation, announced at the opening session that the United States was prepared to stop its naval building program and, more, was prepared to scrap a number of warships which were in an advanced stage of construction. The American proposal was so contrary to professional diplomatic practice that the delegates stared at each other in wonderment, but it was a proposal which the British could hardly afford to contest, since the British Admiralty was already concerned by the American naval construction program.

It was finally agreed that the Anglo-Japanese alliance would be abandoned, and Japan was persuaded to accept a 5:5:3 naval ratio with the United States and Great Britain. A compensation for Japan was the agreement that the United States would not increase or continue its construction of fortifications on naval and military positions west of the 180th meridian. American naval experts did their best in private to prevent the limiting of our fortifications on naval positions in the Western Pacific, and also to prevent the curtailment of the United States naval building program, but they fought a losing fight.

All of the agreements, resolutions, and proposals at the conference were more or less linked together around the central document, which was the Nine-Power Treaty with China, upon which all commitments depended, including the major issue of limitation of naval armament and curtailment of construction on naval bases in the Pacific area. The Nine-Power Treaty came to be known as the "Chinese Charter of Liberty," because it put an end to the old sphere-of-influence doctrine which had possessed Europe and Japan, and for more than a quarter of a century had threatened

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dismemberment of China. Aside from the Nine-Power Treaty, the Washington Conference also adopted other measures concerned with the future development of China as a unified state. The Japanese were forced to withdraw their troops from Shantung Province and restore the former German interests at Tsingtao, including control of the port and railway running into the interior of the province, to Chinese control. The conference also approved a resolution to send a delegation to China to investigate the relinquishment of extraterritoriality, which had hampered the development of modern Chinese courts and had infringed upon the sovereignty of the country. It also was recommended that steps be taken to assist China in modernizing her currency and her fiscal system, and finally the Powers agreed to withdraw their postal agencies from China and consented to the calling of a conference to revise the Chinese tariff, leading in the direction of tariff autonomy. Also of importance from the standpoint of Russian interests in the Far East, the Japanese were forced to withdraw their troops from Siberia, where they had been stationed since World War I.

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The French displayed little enthusiasm for the conference and, while they agreed to restore to China the French-leased territory at Kwangchowan, southwest of Canton, they did so with poor grace and actually never carried out the terms of their agreement.

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Wars in the North

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My last interview with General Wu, and probably his last interview with any foreign newspaperman, was in the winter of 1926-27, after he had been appointed commander-in-chief of the Allied Anti-Red Army and had established his headquarters at Hankow in Central China. Despite his high-sounding title, Wu's position was pathetic, as it constituted the last stand of the reactionary northern militarists against the advancing Nationalist revolutionary forces from the south. I met Wu at breakfast in the garden of an old Chinese home where he had his headquarters. He had been drinking more heavily than usual, and was depressed because of the collapse of his forces in Hunan; they had been completely demoralized by the Russian-trained propaganda corps which preceded the advance of the Nationalist troops. The Communists exerted their best efforts in Hunan and executed their "fifth columnist" work so well that Wu's troops fell back without fighting, and while they put up a strong fight at Wuchang, last remaining stronghold in central China, they ultimately withdrew.

検事側證人 ジヨン・ビー ボーウエル著書「中國在任二十五年」

より抜粋 (ニューヨーク マックシラム店一九四五年版)

北北方に於ける戰爭 八五頁

吳將軍と予との意見は、將軍としても外人記者との最終の意見であつた
らうが、一九二六年より一九二七年にかけての冬の事であつた。

之より先將軍は反共聯合軍の總司令官に任命せられ、華中漢口に司令部を

置いた。當時こそ仰々しいが、吳將軍の地位は衰れたものであつた。

と云ふのはその術と云へば南方から北進して來る國民革命に對して、反
對北方官閥として最終の抵抗をなすこと之であつた。 予の將軍と意見
したのは、將軍がその司令官となしたあたが、吉風な支那家庭の庭での朝
食の席であつた。 將軍は勿になくした、かに辟つてあたが、湖南に於ける
腹下の宣傳の崩壊の爲意氣消沈してゐた。 その當時は國民軍の進駐に充
立ち入り込んだロシア仕込の宣傳隊の工作で完全に風紀頽廢してゐた。
共產黨員は湖南に最も力を注ぎ、その第五列の活潑めざしく、吳の軍隊
は四はずして敗れ、華中に於て最後消滅つた要塞、武昌にて強力な鬥争計

書中、遂に撤退したのであつた。

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Wu retired after his defeat. He always refused political office, and never profited personally, although for a considerable period he had been the most powerful military man in the country. He always insisted he was a military man and knew nothing about politics--which probably explained his failure, as warfare in China had become more political than military, as the all-conquering Nationalists proved.

General Feng Yu-hsiang, who in 1922 was supporting General Wu, was another unusual character. Feng's army, which marched to the tune "Onward, Christian Soldiers," was the predecessor of the Communist Eighth Route Army in the Chinese northwest. Like the commanders of the present-day Chinese Red Army, Feng Yu-hsiang also received special training in Russia and his soldiers carried Russian rifles, some of them being American-made, sold or given to the Czarist Government in World War I.

Karl Radek, former Soviet publicist and disciple of Trotsky, who was imprisoned in return for his confession, in Stalin's purge, used to entertain his friends with stories about Feng Yu-hsiang, who was in one of Radek's classes in revolutionary technique. He said that Feng, who came from northern Chinese peasant stock, sat stolidly through most of the lectures without evincing any outward interest in the subjects under discussion. One day, however, Feng suddenly pricked up his ears and began asking questions. The particular lecture which had aroused Feng's interest dealt with army finance and the financing of occupied territory, subjects of deep concern to Chinese generals, many of whom managed in one way or another to amass comfortable fortunes out of funds which passed through their hands.

Feng came up through the ranks and learned the art of war the hard way. Somewhere along the line he fell under the influence of an American missionary and was converted to Christianity. While Governor of Honan he once ordered an entire division baptized in the Christian faith by total immersion in the Yellow River. While he was stationed in Peking in 1924 he married the secretary of the Peking Y.W.C.A. Politically Feng was an undependable ally; in 1924, when Marshal Wu Pei-fu was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with Chiang Tso-lin, Feng, who was holding the Peking district, rebelled and seized the capital. He made the then President Tsao Kun a prisoner and chased the Manchu Boy Emperor from the Forbidden City, where he had resided as a government ward since the revolution in 1911.

教養圖書社人ジョン・ビー・パウエル氏著「吾在支

廿五年」披翠（ニューヨーク、マクミラン會社一九四五年）

北方に於ける戰々

八五頁、八六頁

吳は敗戦の後國退した。彼は常に政治的地位に就くことを恵み、又相當期間その國に於ける最も精力ある軍人であつたにも拘らず決して私腹を肥やす如きことをしなかつた。彼は「自分は一介の軍人に過ぎず、政治に於ては何一つ別らない」と何時も矢張つてゐたが、此れが彼の敗因を大凡そ物語つてゐる。と云ふわけは中國に於いては無敵である國民黨員が眞實で聰明した後に當時に中國の内情は軍事的競爭と云ふよりも政治的競爭とをつて來てゐたからである。

一九二二年に吳恭誠を支持してゐた鴻毛雖然も又等異な人物であつた「始め、キリストの兵士よ」を軍歌にして合せて行軍した鴻毛は實は中國北西部に於ける共產八路軍の先駆であつたのである

今日の中國共產黨の流率者の如く、馮玉祥も又ロシヤに於て特殊訓課を受けたし、その遺譲はロシヤのライフル銃を携帶してゐた。その或る物は米國製で第一次世界大戦の際帝制ロシヤ政府に賣却し又は譲與されたものであつた。

前ソヴェット政事記者であり、スター・リン^清に於てその告白の返信に答^覆されたトロツキー門下カール、ラデツクは、革命手段上彼等の同一クラスに屬してのた馮玉祥の擇^選を聽^きしてよく友人を面白がらされたものである。彼は北支の百姓家の出の馮が殆ど^の鷹^鷹を通じて點輪中の騎馬に何等興味を惹かれてゐる様子もなく確々「もさーつ」と着席してゐたと語つてゐる。處が或る日その馮が無に耳を取て、質問をし始めたのである。馬がそれに聞つて興味を覚えた鷹^鷹と云ふのは中國の將軍連が非常な^の心を寄せてゐる科目である。軍事財政局に占領地の金融を管じてゐたがそれらの將軍の多くはその放ふ資金から何とか彼をかしてへそくつてはせつせと安樂な私生活の財を貯へてゐた連中であつた

馮は各階級を経て屢次昇進して行き六りしい方法で技術を學んで行つた。その間ふとしたこから米人一直教師の感化を受け、キリスト教に改宗した。河東省長だつた時、彼は一度或る師団全體に命じ黄河の流れに全身を浸してキリスト教の洗礼を受けられたことがある。彼は一九二四年北京政府中に北京Y、W、O、Aの秘書を擔任した。政治的に彼は嘗てに出来ない同盟者であつた。

一九二四年吳佩孚元帥が張作霖と喰ふか喰はれるかの鬭争をなしてゐた際北京地域を支配してゐた馮は警衛して首都を包囲した。彼は大將軍蔣クンを捕虜とし、滿洲幼帝を彼が政府の被昇殿者として一九一一年の草命以來住んでゐた奉都より開放した。

Canadian

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Defense Document 202-E-6

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What Marshall
wishes

War in the North

Page 88

I interviewed the Marshal regarding domestic Chinese politics, and he assured me that his intentions were entirely pacific; that he was only interested in unifying China--by force, if necessary. He denied that the Japanese had anything to do with his decision.

During my interview I repeated the reports about his relations with Japan. He told me that he had served on the Japanese side during the Russo-Japanese war as a guerilla leader, harassing the communication lines of the Russians, and probably had a great deal to do with the defeat of the Russians in their war with Japan in 1905. No one was in a better position for this work than Chang Tso-lin, or he was a product of the Manchurian mountains and forests.

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辯護圖文書二〇二一四一六

一八頁

検察側證人ジョン・ビーボーウエル著「征華二十五年」よりの

抜萃

ヘニーネーク、マツクミラン著社、一九四五(年)

北部の戰爭

八八頁

私は中國の國內政治に關し元帥と會見した。元帥は私に確言して自分の意圖は全く平和的で、中國を統一すること丈が必要とあらば武力によつてこれを統一することだけが自分の關心であると語つた。また日本人が元帥の決意に何らかの關係があるといふことを否認した。

私は會見中、元帥の日本との關係に關する諸報道を繰述して述べた。元帥は私に日露戰爭中遊擊隊指揮者としてロシヤの邊境線を擾亂し日本側に邊し、一九〇五年の對日戰爭に於けるロシヤ人の敗北に大いに與つて力があつたらしいと語つた。この仕事の最適任者には張作霖を挙げて他に無かつた。張作霖は滿洲の山嶽、森林の所産であつたからである。

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Defense Document 202-F-9

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Incident of the Blue Express

7--Release and Reparations

Pages 120 and 121

The full extent and significance of the bandits' demands were not fully realized until the "peace conference" between the outlaws and the Government's representatives got under way. Never was a stranger or more dramatic conference held. In the little temple on the side of the mountain, visible from the village where the conference was held, sat the little band of captives whose lives hung in the balance as the talks seemed to sway from one side to the other. Most disconcerting to Anderson and me were the frequent "off-side" sessions of little groups, usually held in secret behind the rambling one-story building where the meeting was held. We never could tell whether they were walking out entirely, and we always heaved a sigh of relief when they returned. Each chieftain wanted a large sum of money "in real silver," some of the demands running as high as a million dollars. But this was not to be regarded as sordid ransom; it was "back pay" for the rank and file, practically all of whom at one time or another had been connected with some provincial army. Each chief naturally demanded that all of his followers be taken into the army and provided with new uniforms. Also there were demands for enormous quantities of rice and flour, the amounts being specified in tens of thousands of piculs, the Chinese unit, equivalent to 133 pounds avoirdupois.

The most significant demand, constituting evidence of political and possibly foreign intrigue, was that the so-called bandit area, embracing a section of several hundred square miles and including portions of the three provinces, Kiangsu, Shantung, and Anhwei, be "neutralized" under some form of international guarantee by the foreign Powers. The area which the bandit leaders specified included the important railway junction point of Hsuchowfu where the north-south Tientsin-Nanking line crossed the east-west Lung-Hai line. The bandits insisted that their force, now expanded to possibly a division, be stationed inside the "neutralized" area. The demands included specific conditions regarding collection and apportionment of taxation, exploitation of coal mines and other minerals, and development of communications. It seemed to me that the bandits must have had outside assistance in working out the plan which appeared to be beyond the capacity of a band of mountain outlaws.

The inspiration behind this particular demand, aside from the element of self-preservation, still remains a secret. Some thought it was Japan's method of retaliation for the action of the Powers at the Washington Arms Conference in forcing Japan to restore Shantung to Chinese sovereignty. Others thought the bandits were instigated by southern political interests antagonistic to the Peking Government and hoped in this manner to discredit their political enemies. Dr. Jacob Gould Schurman, American Minister, told me several months afterward that he had never been able to get to the bottom of the incident, and was surprised when the central government suddenly offered to refund the losses suffered by the passengers and agreed to pay the captives an indemnity figured out on a per diem basis for the time they were held in captivity.

Pages 121, 122 and 123

There had been a time in the not too distant past when a foreign Power or group of Powers might have taken advantage of the bandit incident to establish control over Chinese territory. Germany had seized the port of Tsingtao on the Shantung coast twenty-three years earlier, in retaliation for the killing of three German missionaries; Russia had seized Port Arthur on the Gulf of Chihli (Po Hai); and Britain had established a training station at Wei-hai-wei on the north side of the Shantung Peninsula. But imperial Germany and imperial Russia were temporarily out of the running, and the other Powers with interests in the Pacific had adopted a new program, in their relations with each other and with China, which had gone into effect at the Washington Conference. All of the Powers, including Japan, had agreed to abandon their old spheres of influence and concessions, and had signed a treaty guaranteeing China against just such interference in her domestic affairs as the bandits were inviting. It was certain that the bandits had not originated the foreign-concession idea themselves; there must have been instigation from some outside quarter, possibly for the purpose of testing out the Powers as to their sincerity concerning the Nine-Power Treaty.

After eliminating the ridiculous, the conference finally settled down to the familiar old-fashioned game of bluff and compromise so dear to the hearts of all true Sons of Man. The bandits' demands for the release of the foreign captives finally narrowed down to two points: Was the Government willing to take the entire gang into the army and to hand over to the chieftain a sufficient sum to pay the salaries of the "new army" for six months in advance? The Government, under pressure by the Powers, was willing, but it wanted the amount of money involved and the number of bandits taken into the army held down to reasonable proportions. The exact amount paid over and the number of soldiers decided upon was never announced, but the debate was long and acrimonious. The conference had a dramatic conclusion when Sven Mao-yao, the youthful leader, held up his hand and after proclaiming his loyalty to the Government, signed the agreement. The other chiefs then walked up and signed, following which the Government officials affixed their signatures or seals to the document, which was then pushed across the table for Anderson and me to sign as witnesses and guarantors of the good faith of both participants.

One day six months later Anderson telephoned me and stated in great indignation that he had just received word that the Governor of Shantung had violated the agreement and through some subterfuge had enticed the bandits away from their guns and had massacred some six hundred of them with machine guns. Sven Mao-yao, the youthful chief, was also executed. Most foreigners approved the action of the Shantung Governor, but Roy Anderson, better versed in current Chinese "checkerboard" politics, predicted that the action of the Shantung Governor would have tragic results in case other foreigners were kidnaped by bandits or rebel troops in future-- a forecast which was borne out by later developments when many foreigners, chiefly missionaries, lost their lives when ransoms were not immediately forthcoming. The missionaries were the chief sufferers, because they generally refused to pay ransoms, on the ground that such payments only incited further kidnaping of mission workers.

Page 123

As the foreign captives were aware of the negotiations proceeding in the village in the valley, they spent many anxious hours awaiting the conclusion. As the day drew to a close they had practically given up hope when a messenger arrived with a slip of paper ordering the release of the captives. "Thank God," was the involuntary utterance, but there was still further delay; the bandit leaders insisted on providing sedan chairs for all members of the party so that they could depart in a manner befitting foreign guests. We didn't actually get away until after nightfall, and in consequence didn't reach the rescue party at the coal mine until long after midnight. When we woke up the next morning our train was moving; the government railways had provided us with a special running straight through to Shanghai. When the train arrived the next day Shanghai's entire foreign population, which had been demanding strong punitive measures in reprisal for the bandit outrage, turned out in such a crowd that they blocked the streets leading to the railway station.

hat used

Def Doc No. 202-F-9

匪賊側の要求の範囲及び意味は匪賊と政府側代表との間の「平和會議」が開かれて始めて、その全貌が明らかになつた。未だ嘗つて此程奇怪且劇的な會議は開かれたことはない。會議が行はれた村から見える山腹の小さな寺には、抑留者が少しく一圓となつて座つてゐた。彼等の生命はその餘暉の均衡に縛がつてゐた、といふのに、その論理は甲陰乙駆いづれとも決する模様がなかつたからである。

アンダーソンと自分が一番當惑したのは少佐の者達が何度となく寄り集つては「オフサイド」の會議を開くことで、この會議は會見の行はれた崩れ落ちんばかりの平家造りの建物の後で秘かに行はれた。我々には彼等が全く出て終ふのかどうか皆目不明であつたので、彼等が戻つて來ると、何時でも安堵の溜息を洩らした。匪賊の首領は莫大な「現銀」の金を要求し、その中には百萬弗もの要求もあつた。しかしこれは過當な身代金と考へることは出來ない。つまり、實際上すべて或地方官と過去に於て何時か關係にあつた兵卒共に対する「後拂金」だからである。又首領は夫々その脚下を全部、實際に歸入し新制服を支

給する様要求したが之も當然である。更に大量の米と、小麥粉を要求し、その決定した是れ数萬擔に上つた、一擔は一三三封庫に當る支那の重量の單位である。

政治的な侵害、又外國利益の侵害の譖撻となる最も重視を要求は、數百平方哩の地區に涉り江西山東安徽に跨る所謂閩浙地帶を何等かの形で外國列強の國際的保證を以て中立化せんとするものであつた。匪賊の首領が創定した地帶の中には除州府なる交渉の要衝があり、此所は南北の津浦線と、東西の陸海線との交叉點をなしてゐた。匪賊の主張では、現在では一箇師団にものぼる彼等の兵力をこの「中立」地帶内に駐留せしめよと云ふのである。その要求の中には特別の條件として、稅金徵收及割當、炭山及他の礦山の開墾及交渉の権利に附するものがあつた。匪賊共は此の権利を作るのに外部の援助を得たに相違ないと私には思へた、といふのは此の権利は一見して山賊の一味の手に負へぬ様なものであつたからである。

自己保全の意味とは別に此の特殊の要求の背後にある著想は依然と

して秘密となつてゐる。或る者は、山東省の中國深附を日本に強要せ
るワシントン會議での列強の工作に対する日本の報復の一つの通り口
だと見る向もある。又匪賊は北京政府に敵對する南方政治勢力の刺殺
を受けたと見るものもある。アメリカ公使ジャコブ、ゴーレー、シア
ーマン博士は事件の眞相を知ることが出来なかつた又直に、無いたこ
とは、中央政府が乗客の死つた損害の賠償を突然に申し入れ、抑留者
に對して抑留期間に對し日割計算にして賠償金の支拂をなすのに同意
したからである。

一一一、一二二、一二三

其れより余り遠くない以前外國が單獨に若くは聯合して中國國士に支那權をうちたてる爲に匪賊事件を利用出來たらうと思はれる時期があつた。

ドイツは三人のドイツ人宣教師殺害の報復に二十三年前に山東海岸にある青島港に接收した。ロシヤは直隸灣（渤海灣）に面する旅順港を略取し、イギリス又山東半島の北岸の威海衛に訓練用要港を建設した。然しどドイツ帝國の並にロシヤ帝國は暫く競争圈外にあり、太平洋に利権を有する他の列強は彼等相互並に支那に關し、ワシントン會議の時既に效力を有してゐた新しい領領を採用した。日本を含む全列強は從來の勢力範囲及び租界を放棄することに同意し、圓匪が招いたやうな内政干渉を爲さない云ふことを支那に對して保證する條約に調印した。圓匪そのものが外國租界の觀念を起したのではないことは確實であつた。そこには九ヶ國條約に關する誠實性に就て、多分列強をためして見る目的で或る外部方面よりの使嗾が

あつたに違ひない。

愚につかの事を取り除いた後、會談は終りにきつすいの漢民族の後裔なら誰の氣持にもしみ込んでゐるゝやうに慣れた昔ながらの欺瞞と妥協の駆引きに落ち着いた。外人捕虜の釋放の交換條件に出した圓匪の諸要求は結局二つの點に縮少された。即ち政府は全匪賊を軍隊に編入し、この新軍隊の六ヶ月前拂の給料を支拂ふに充分な金を首領に手渡す意志ありや。さいふこそあつた。列國の脅迫下にあつた政府はその意志はあつたがそれだけの金額を持つておらず、軍隊に編入される匪賊の人数を過度の割合に引き下げた。支拂はれた正確な金額と決定された兵隊の人数とは決して公表されなかつた。支拂はれた正確な金額と決定された兵隊の人数とは決して公表されなかつたが然し計論は長く激烈であつた。青年頭首スウェンマオ・ヤオー音讀)が腕を振り上げそして政府に對する彼の忠誠を宣言して後その決定に調印したので會談は劇的終了となつた。次ぎに他の首領達がずつと進み出て調印をし、之に續いて政府官吏がその文書に署名捺印した後兩會談者の信實性の立會人並に保證人として署名する爲にテーブルの向側アンダーソンと私の方にそれを押しやつた。その後六ヶ月たつた或る日、アンダーソン

ンが私に電話をかけてきて非常に噴慨した口吻で山東省長が既定に違反して何か狡猾な方法で匪賊から彼等の銃を手放させて置いて機關銃で彼等をうち約六百名を殺したと云ふ報告を受けたばかりだと云つて來た。彼の青年頭首スウエンマニ、ヤオ（音譯）も死刑に處された。大抵の外人は山東省長の行爲を是認した。が然し今の中止の「將棋盤政策」に誰よりも精測してゐるロイ、アンダーソンは誰か外國人が將來匪賊は叛軍に拉致された場合に山東省長の行爲は悲劇的結果を齎らすことにならうと豫言した。即ち此の豫想は後に發展して多數の外國人主として宣教師が即座に身代金が出なかつた爲に命を失つた時に至つて間違がなかつたことを證明された。宣教師達が主な犠牲者であつた。といふのは彼等は身代金を出すことなどは布教職にある人達を更に拉致する様に煽動するだけだと云ふ理由で彼等は大抵その支拂を拒絶した爲であつた。

二二頁

外國人俘虜は谷間の村で進行してゐる交渉のことを知つてゐたので長い時間不安の念にかられながらその結果を待つた。日も暮に近かつたので便ひの者が保釋の釋放を命じた紙片を持って來た時彼等は既に事實上望を斷念して居た。一科機有難うございとさ思はず口をついた。だが釋放はなほ手間どつた。即ち匪賊の頭目は彼等が外國人の賓客にふさはしい方法で出發できる様に一行の全員の爲肩かごを用意することを主張した。我々は事實上夕暮過ぎる迄脱出せず、その結果夜中を隨分過ぎる迄營坑に居る救援隊の處へ到着しなかつた。翌朝眼をさました時には列車は我々をのせて走つてゐた。政府の鐵道が上海迄の特別直通列車を我々に提供してゐたのである。列車が翌日到着した時、匪賊の不法に對する報復に強抗な懲罰手段を講ずることを要求してゐた上海の全外國人は非常な群集となつて出動したので停車場に通ずる道と云ふ道は彼等で一杯で通られなかつた位であった。

rejected.

not used

Excerpts from
Prosecution Witness JOHN B. POWELL's Book
"MY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN CHINA"

(New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945)

Factional Troubles of the 1920's

Pages 132 and 133

The Chinese Communists, who were admitted to membership in the Kuomintang on an equal basis as a result of a conference of delegates in Canton on January 20, 1924, had from the first endeavored to exert pressure on the party. The first indication of serious trouble between the Kuomintang and Communist factions was given early in 1926.

Four young military officers, all graduates of the Whampoa Academy, organized an anti-communist movement. The four men, all destined to become prominent in the next few months in the military drive to the Yangtze Valley, were Li Tsung-jen, Li Chi-sheng, Chu Peh-teh and Ho Ying-chin. General Chiang Kai-shek, head of the Central Military Academy, steered clear of the Kuomintang-Communist controversy, but his trip to Russia in 1924 caused him to be suspected of pro-Red leanings. A record of his activities in Russia, however, indicated that he had been cold to Soviet blandishments. As a result of pressure by the four young military officers, General Chiang, on March 24, 1926, issued a statement that he would follow the teachings of Dr. Sun's Three Principles (see preceding chapter), and would discontinue all connections with the Communist wing.

General Chiang Kai-shek's disinclination to side with the Communists was due to two factors. First, his birth and environment in industrialized, conservative Chekiang Province and his association with the banking and commercial elements from that province which dominated Shanghai business; second, the advice of a fellow provincial, Chang Ching-kiang, an almost mythical character who had become immensely wealthy in the silk and curio trade between China and France in the latter years of the Ching Dynasty. (Many of the rare Chinese works of art purchased by American millionaires came to this country by way of France.) Chang Ching-kiang, the curio dealer, espoused the revolutionary cause and contributed large sums to Dr. Sun's war chest. He participated in the conferences preliminary to the formation of the Nanking Provisional Government, but refused to accept office. Two years later he again helped Dr. Sun in opposing Yuan Shih-kai's monarchist plot, and as a result was proscribed, along with many others, by the Yuan regime. Chang Ching-kiang fled to Paris, where he opened a profitable curio and art store and also a popular restaurant where Chinese foods, particularly soya-bean products, were sold. After the passing of Yuan Shih-kai, Chang returned to Shanghai, where he further increased his fortune in the stock and gold-bar exchanges. It was here that he became acquainted with Chiang Kai-shek, and assisted him financially. In 1925 he went to Canton and became a member of the Constitutional Government. He accompanied General Chiang Kai-shek on the military advance to the Yangtze, and after the split between the Kuomintang and Communist factions he joined the Nanking Government. In his later years his health failed, and it became necessary for him to travel about in a wheel chair. But there was no impairment of his opposition to the Communists.

Pages 133, 134 and 135

Hu Han-ming, civilian leader of the right-wing Kuomintang group, also opposed the Communists, but Wang Ching-wei, the other civilian contender for the position held by the late leader of the party, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, sided with the Reds and in company with a number of the Russian and American advisors of the Canton Government departed for Hankow.

By the summer of 1926 the Nationalist army, under the command of Chiang Kai-shek, started its northward advance from Canton. As a result of the anti-imperial propaganda inspired by the Communist faction of the Kuomintang, foreigners, particularly missionaries residing in the interior of the country, were seriously affected by the Nationalist Revolution which was swooping northward. Mission schools, churches and residences were looted and thousands of missionaries were forced to flee to Shanghai.

But the most dramatic developments of the revolution took place at Hankow, Nanking and Shanghai, where the smouldering hatred and intrigue for power between the Kuomintang and the Communists broke out in furious internecine conflict. General Chiang Kai-shek's charge that the Communists had sent secret emissaries into the cities for the purpose of seizing control prior to the arrival of his troops, was borne out by developments at both Hankow and Shanghai. In both cities Communist activity originally was directed at the control of student and labor organizations.

Students of the Chinese Nationalist Revolution whose sympathies have been on the side of the radical or communist factions have purposely ignored the developments at Hankow which tell the most significant story of the failure of Chinese Communists, and their foreign advisors, to accomplish their ambitious plan of seizing control of the Nationalist movement and establishing communistic government in China. They blame "foreign capitalist-imperialist influence," "new militarism" and native "banker-landlord influence" for their lack of success, but while these elements did contribute, there were other and more fundamental causes.

Of the many causes for the failure of the Red regime at Hankow not the least was the action of the leaders in preaching class warfare and catering to radical student-labor groups in a society which was predominantly agricultural and where there had never been any classes, except the old educated or "litterati" group which was, theoretically at least, open to all youths of ability who could pass the official examinations. After the capture of the Wu-Han cities, which had been accomplished largely by the military strategy of General Chiang Kai-shek, the leftist Chinese leaders and their foreign advisors staged a viritable "Roman holiday" in celebration of their victory over "capitalistic imperialism." There was a trial of two "war prisoners" staged in the Russian manner, the culprits being two northern generals who were captured at Wuchang. Thousands of laborers employed in the mines factories, and processing plants (Hankow is popularly known as the Pittsburgh of China) ceased work, and led by radical elements spent the days and nights in speech-making, parades, and demonstrations. Streets were filled with marching students and laborers carrying banners inscribed with slogans, "Down with Capitalists and Imperialists," "Support the World Revolution," "Workers of the World, Unite," and similar sentiments. Thousands of young peasants from Hunan Province, where an intense Red propaganda had been conducted for a considerable period, flocked into Hankow to join the festivities.

Pages 135, 136 and 137

The industries of the Wu-Han area were forced to close down: press-packing plants where native products were prepared for foreign markets; manufacturing industries, including cotton spinning and weaving mills; vegetable-oil pressing plants, hundreds of small native-owned industries, the great Han Yeh Ping coal and iron interests (controlled by Japan), large cigarette factories owned by Britons and Americans, the shipping industry operating large sea-going steamers on the lower Yangtze and smaller but more powerful steamers capable of negotiating the rapids of the Upper Yangtze, and an enormous junk trade operated by the Chinese on the great canal system and lakes of central China. Thousands of workers, who had been spending their days celebrating the revolution by holding parades and demonstrations, suddenly found themselves without meal tickets.

Since the Government had catered to the radical elements and encouraged the strikes, the student-labor groups naturally turned to it for support. The Government thus found itself in a vicious circle of its own making, and had to adopt the suicidal method of issuing floods of paper money in order to purchase rice for the hungry multitudes. Prices for food, particularly rice, shot up to prohibitive heights.

In order to save the Government itself from retaliation by the hungry crowds, propagandists attempted to turn the revolutionary sentiment against the foreigners. More parades were organized, with banners denouncing foreign imperialism, and the British Concession was over-run. No attempt was made to invade the Japanese Concession, which was bristling with machine guns. The British Concession was guarded only by a small naval contingent and a local volunteer corps and police force. Unable to cope with the excited demonstrators who stormed the borders of their Concession, and fearing a debacle, the British Consul-General, an Irishman named O'Malley, ordered the British population to withdraw to British ships in the harbor which was accomplished without incident. Possessed of more political sagacity than most of his compatriots, Consul-General O'Malley immediately entered into negotiations with the radical Foreign Minister, Eugene Chen, and the outcome was the sensational Chen-O'Malley Agreement whereby Great Britain agreed to return the British Concession at Hankow to China. The official release from the Foreign Office in London stated that the action "accorded with Britain's long-existing intention to return her Concessions to Chinese control."

When the Chinese found themselves in possession of the British Concession calmer counsels prevailed, the excitement died down, and the paraders returned to their quarters.

Another element which had a calming effect on the situation at Hankow was the receipt of alarming reports from Nanking, some four hundred miles down the Yangtze, stating that American gunboats had been forced to fire on a mob of demonstrators, including troops, which were attacking the American community, with officials of the American Consulate and their families. Suddenly realizing the seriousness of the complications in which they had become involved, Foreign Minister Eugene Chen sent a wire to the State Department disavowing responsibility for the Nanking outrages but offering remuneration for damages suffered by foreigners at the hands of Chinese radical elements.

Pages 137 and 138

The Chen-O'Malley Agreement providing for the return of the British Concession at Hankow to Chinese control, and the official telegram from the radical Chinese regime at Hankow to the State Department, marked the high point in the strange career of Eugene Chen, who had figured prominently in Chinese politics for a decade. Born in Trinidad, British West Indies, of a Chinese father and a Trinidad woman, Chen was educated as a British barrister in England and had been admitted to practice in Inner Temple, London. But the pull of his Chinese blood was too strong, and he returned to China, along with thousands of his compatriots from the Seven Seas, to participate in the revolution. Having a fair classical education in English (he could neither read nor speak Chinese), Chen naturally gravitated into newspaper work and on occasion stirred the sluggish English communities in the Far East to white heat with his editorials, filled with classical quotations from English literature. He edited radical papers in Shanghai and Peking, and once when the Chinese authorities in Peking arrested him and threatened him with execution, he remembered his British nationality, through birth in Trinidad, and appealed to the British Minister to save his life. Sir John Jordan, the aged, kindly, and influential British Minister, asked the Chinese authorities to release Chen—who, upon obtaining his liberty, fled to the sanctuary of the International Settlement at Shanghai. Later, Chen went to Canton and joined Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary Government and participated in the northern advance as a member of the radical faction, becoming Foreign Minister of the Hankow Government.

There was an illuminating incident in connection with the British evacuation at Hankow which was prophetic of later developments in British Far Eastern diplomacy. When the British were evacuating their nationals from the Concession to their ship in the harbor, the British Indian community, consisting largely of Sikhs, was overlooked. After the white Britons were safely aboard the ships someone thought about the Sikhs, most of whom had been employed as policemen or guards and watchmen by the various foreign and Chinese business houses and manufacturing establishments. Some had become wealthy as money lenders. One of the consular officials went ashore to rescue the missing Sikhs, who had disappeared completely. While returning to his ship the British consular official stopped to observe a parade which had been organized by the students to celebrate the taking over of the Concession. At the end of the procession, also carrying banners denouncing foreign imperialists, were the missing Sikhs. They had "gone over" to the Chinese and Communist revolutionist.

The action of the little group of British Indians in joining the Chinese revolutionists was prophetic of events to come: events in 1941-42, when British Indian troops at Hong Kong, in Malaya, and in Burma, and the Congress Party in India, either refused to support Great Britain or adopted an attitude of non-cooperation with respect to the war in the Far East.

The acquisition of the British Concession at Hankow enhanced considerably the prestige of the radical branch of the Kuomintang, but this could not be exchanged for the wherewithal to feed the hordes of unemployed laborers who had been encouraged to strike and agitate against the imperialists and capitalists. With adversity came treachery within the ranks of the radical factions. Wang Ching-wei, who already had a reputation for treachery, grew cold toward the radical Chinese and Russian elements.

Pages 138, 139 and 140

Mao Tse-tung, spokesman of the radical faction, attributed the failure of the Red regime at Hankow to the weakness or treachery of another Chinese leader, Chen Tu-hsiu, who allegedly compromised on fundamental policies concerning land redistribution. Mao was quoted in Edgar Snow's "Red Star Over China" as charging the Russian Advisor Borodin and a British Indian radical named Roy, a delegate of the Comintern, with joint responsibility with Chen Tu-hsiu, the party dictator, for the collapse. According to Mao, Borodin, the official representative of the Moscow Comintern, had ceased being an "advisor" and had become a dictator of the Kuomintang Party. Chen Tu-hsiu had concealed the real situation from the party leaders, but Borodin's activities allegedly were exposed by the Indian delegate Roy. This is said to have caused the defection of Wang Ching-wei and the split in the Hankow Left Wing Government which facilitated the victory of Chiang Kai-shek and the Nanking faction over the Radical-Communist branch.

Another unexpected element in the situation was that the collapse of the radical Hankow Government had serious repercussions in Moscow and contributed considerably to the collapse of Trotsky and advocates of world revolution. Stalin and his group seized upon the failure of the China adventure, which had cost the Soviets large sums of money and great effort, to discredit Trotsky and the whole group of advocates of "permanent world revolution." Borodin returned by a tortuous overland trip to Moscow in disgrace and became editor of the four-page English-language MOSCOW DAILY NEWS.

Sun Fo, son of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who participated in the Hankow Government, but later withdrew, also confirmed Mao's statements, particularly the reference to the "dictatorial attitude of the Russians." Chen Kung-po, an American returned student and graduate of Columbia University, New York, who had specialized in economics and had served as secretary to Wang Ching-wei, wrote a series of articles (published in the CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW shortly after the collapse of the Hankow Government) in which he analyzed the causes of the collapse of the Hankow Red regime. He concluded by advocating a system of state capitalism and state ownership of industries as a means of surmounting the complications which develop when privately owned industrial establishments suspend operations and throw laborers back on the Government for support. Chen argued that only through the development of state capitalism could the Chinese Government hope to cope with powerful foreign interests established in the country, which in times of crisis usually are able to marshal the support of the large native Chinese industrial and banking interests in opposition to socialistic experiments. Chen Kung-po, formerly a political associate of Wang Ching-wei, later became head of the Japanese puppet Government at Nanking, following the death of Wang Ching-wei in Tokyo in 1944. Chen Kung-po was the only Chinese student, educated in the United States, who voluntarily joined the Nanking puppet. No Chinese student of any American university, to the writer's knowledge, ever joined the Chinese Communist faction. Thousands of American returned students are members of the Kuomintang.

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Prosecution Witness JOHN B. POWELL's Book
"MY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN CHINA"

(New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945)

Fighting in Shanghai

I--Imperialism, Nationalism, Communism

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I had received numerous intimations long before the Nationalist armies reached the Yangtze that all was not going well with the Kuomintang-Communist partnership. The information I had received was in the form of two confidential pamphlets addressed by General Chiang Kai-shek to the party leaders, in which he charged that the Communists were secretly plotting to oust the Kuomintang and seize control of the party organization and ultimately of the Government. But I was not prepared for the tragic developments which followed the Nationalist-Communist occupation of Hankow, Nanking, and Shanghai.

American and other Occidental missionaries whose stations were in the path of the advancing armies were the first to feel the effect of the Communist hook-up. Every boat and train brought hundreds of refugee mission workers, men, women and children to Shanghai. In most cases they were forced to flee from their homes, which were looted by the disorderly soldiers. Mission churches and religious schools were particular objectives of the Reds and were subjected to wholesale desecration. The missionaries were attacked on two grounds--imperialism and the Christian religion.

I remember attending a press conference called by missionary leaders, at which one man after another got up and told of atrocities committed in his district by the political branch of the army. I asked one of the speakers how he accounted for the fact that the communist students and soldiers were able by the use of intensive propaganda to counteract the accomplishments of Christian missionaries extending over a long period of years. He replied, "It is always easier to destroy than to build," explaining that the widespread anti-imperialist and anti-religious propaganda directed at the missionaries was so closely linked with the question of nationalism and political reform that the majority of Christian converts were unable to come to the assistance of their foreign friends and benefactors. Any Chinese who helped a foreign friend was labeled a "running-dog of the imperialists."

Foreigners were aware of Soviet influence behind the Chinese Communists, but few realized that the struggle taking place in China was part of a similar life-and-death struggle which was going on within Russia between Joseph Stalin and Leon Trotsky, the two rival leaders in the Russian Communist Party following the death of Lenin. The struggle involved the fundamental objectives of the communist movement.

Lenin had declared, "China is seething--it is our duty to keep the pot boiling." But the attempt to communize China was the work of the Leon Trotsky faction, which advocated world revolution. Following failures in Germany, Austria, Hungary, and England, the directors of the Third International decided to attempt the communization of China and the millions of Asia. Also behind the ideologies lurked the desire on the part of the Russian Red leaders to even scores with the American, British, and other European capitalist-imperialists by attacking their loosely held colonial dependencies in the Far East.

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They argued that if they were successful in China it would mean another communist state and a triumph for the Third International, which had lost prestige as a result of the rebuffs it had suffered in Europe. Also, there was the prospect that such success would put a crimp in the rising political prestige of Joseph Stalin, who was bitterly opposed to the world revolutionary program of Comrade Trotsky. Stalin believed in concentrating power in Russia itself. Finally there was the prospect of blocking or suppressing thousands of Russian emigrees who had fled from Russia into Chinese territory after the Red Revolution in 1917. All emigrees were anti-Red.

Reds from all points of the compass--French, German, American, British, Hindu, Turkish--flocked to China to help put over the revolution and, incidentally, participate in the expenditure of the considerable sums which the Third International had collected from the Russian peasants and the world's working classes. Propagandists and political manipulators who had walked to work or had ridden on street cars in their home countries quickly discovered that new American motor cars were a "necessary adjunct" to their activities in China. Shanghai dealers in American cars did a thriving business while the Red boom lasted. But when Earl Browder, head of the American Communist Party, arrived at Shanghai he quickly put a stop to the rock-bottom sponging. At an elaborate banquet given in his honor in Shanghai, Browder refused to eat anything but black-bread and water, which he said was the fare of the starving Russian peasants who had put up the money for the Chinese revolution. But Browder arrived on the scene too late; the autocratic and dictatorial actions of certain of the Russian advisors had already alienated the support of many of the Kuomintang leaders.

I interviewed Browder on the subject of the communist situation in China, and heard him denounce in emphatic terms the political agents "who rode around in limousines and went to banquets when the peasants and workers of Russia and China were starving."

The intimate connection between the failure of the Russian communist experiment in China and the ultimate downfall of Commissar Trotsky is revealed in a passage in Trotsky's memoirs (Charles Scribner's Sons) wherein he charged that the Chinese Communist Party had been "forced to join the bourgeois Kuomintang and had been forbidden to create soviets, compelled to hold the agrarian revolution in check and also to abstain from organizing the workers." Trotsky alleged that Stalin supported the Kuomintang-Communist hook-up and had blinded General Chiang Kai-shek against attack. After the bloody suppression of the Chinese Communists at Shanghai, Trotsky said he had advised forbearance in the expectation that the action would attract more supporters to the Red banner. However, it did not work out in accordance with Trotsky's expectations and, to quote his words, "After the defeat of the German revolution, and the breakdown of the British general strike, the new disaster in China only intensified the disappointment of the masses in the international revolution, and it was this disappointment which served as the chief psychological source of Stalin's policy of national reformism."

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It was natural that developments at Nanking and Hankow should arouse deep apprehension on the part of both Chinese and foreigners at Shanghai, China's largest and most Europeanized city. It is one of the world's largest ports, and more industries are concentrated in the Shanghai district than in any other area of equal size on the continent of East Asia. The city then had a population of approximately 3,000,000, of which some 75,000 or 80,000 were foreigners of almost every nationality and race. It was the Far Eastern headquarters for most of the Protestant and Catholic mission establishments concerned with the propagation of Christianity among the Chinese people. As a result there was a larger investment of American capital in the Shanghai district than anywhere else in Asia, with the exception of the Philippines. British investments at Shanghai were larger than the American investments, and were exceeded only by British investments at Hong Kong.

Alarming reports of events at Hankow which appeared in the foreign press, particularly the leading British paper, the NORTH CHINA DAILY NEWS, created a situation of near panic among residents of the International Settlement and the French Concession. A well known British journalist at Peking named Putnam Weale made a trip to Hankow and wrote a series of articles regarding the situation there which he entitled "Red Fever on the Yangtze."

I attended a press conference called by the manager of a leading British brokerage firm where it was explained that the foreign chambers of commerce and other organizations had decided to raise a large fund and initiate widespread counter-propaganda against the Communists. The chairman of the meeting asked the cooperation of the local press and suggested that each of the papers publish a special supplement exposing the communist menace. When he asked for comment on the anti-communist program, I expressed the view that any attempt to label the entire Nationalist movement as "Red" would probably defeat the object of the promoters of the campaign because it would antagonize all Chinese and tend to throw the entire Nationalist movement into the arms of the Reds. I said that the Nationalist movement in China long predated the advent of the Russian Communists, and since the objectives of the two movements were antagonistic, the hook-up was not likely to last overlong unless the Powers adopted a policy of outright opposition.

I also expressed the belief that neither America nor Britain would approve of any program which opposed the Nationalist movement, or any attempt to discredit it by labeling it communistic. I therefore refused to cooperate in the campaign, and left the meeting. The NORTH CHINA DAILY NEWS, senior British paper in China, usually followed an astute, and on occasion supercilious, course with regard to Chinese politics; but on this occasion the editor forgot his dignity and went all out editorially against the entire Nationalist movement. With the assistance of two American journalists who were employed for the purpose, the paper issued a supplement on the Red question which still stands as a journalistic curiosity, due to the exaggerated and hysterical articles it contained. One article which aroused considerable amusement instructed readers on "How to Spot Communists at Moving Picture Shows and Other Public Gatherings." Later, after the excitement died down, the directors of the paper dropped the American propagandists, employed another editor, and brought the policy of the paper into accord with the changed conditions in China.

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As a result of the self-administered propaganda, both foreign areas at Shanghai immediately went on a war basis, and thousands of coolies were employed day and night constructing trenches, barbed-wire barricades, and concrete blockhouses. The panic among the foreigners at Shanghai spread to foreign capitals, and was aggravated by further alarmist reports dispatched abroad by the foreign consulates and legations. Within a few weeks some 40,000 foreign troops were dispatched to the city, including American marines and soldiers, British soldiers, Japanese soldiers, Italian marines, and French Annamite troops from Indo-China.

The American forces were commanded by General Smedley Butler, a veteran of the Boxer campaign of 1900. Butler, a Quaker, constantly exasperated the other commanders by issuing pacifist declarations to the press.

At the height of the excitement I asked Butler, at a press conference, how many troops would be required for a general armed invasion in China sufficiently strong to suppress the Nationalist movement. Without hesitation he replied, "I would not dream of starting an armed invasion in China without a half million troops and it probably would require a million more before the end of the first year." General Butler's statement was confirmed a few years later when the Japanese were unable to conquer China with more than two million troops and after years of warfare.

On another occasion General Butler disclosed that his orders from Washington were "not to fire on any organized body of Chinese troops." He declared that his sole purpose was to protect the American community against mob violence. Later, after General Butler had returned to the United States, he declared that his forces had not fired a single hostile shot while they were stationed in China. Following his retirement he delivered speeches advocating the withdrawal of all American and other foreign forces from China.

Another American official who preserved his balance and opposed an interventionist policy was Admiral Mark L. Bristol, commander of the United States fleet in Asiatic waters. Admiral Bristol had served as United States High Commissioner to Turkey after World War I, and had observed the futility of an interventionist movement on the part of the Allied Powers with regard to that country.

The first British commander in China, Lord Gort, returned to England in disgust when he discovered that the British Government also had no intention of embarking on a grandiose military adventure in China. Elaborate plans for an invasion of the Yangtze Valley and the creation of a "sanitary zone" fifty miles wide on each side of the Yangtze River between Shanghai and Hankow, a distance of six hundred miles, which had been in the files of the International Settlement for many years, were put back in the pigeonholes to gather more dust. The plans had been prepared by old-guard dyed-in-the-wool imperialists in Shanghai, who thought China could be frightened into submission by a show of foreign force.

The new British commander sent out to replace Lord Gort held a press conference shortly after his arrival. Exhibiting a new map on the wall of his office, he said "I want you to see that I have changed the color of the thumb tacks indicating the location of the Chinese Nationalist troops; previously we used red tacks, now they are yellow." He declared that the British Government realized that the Chinese Nationalist movement was a genuine revolutionary effort designed to bring about a new day in China, and was not a "Red Wave on the Yangtze" designed for the purpose of driving Americans and Europeans out of the country, as had been pictured in the excited propaganda and exaggerated news reports circulated by Shanghai's die-hard imperialists.

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Conservative Chinese commercial and financial interests at Shanghai generally supported the Nationalist movement, which they hoped would bring an end to the political unrest which had prevailed in the country for a decade. They thought it would bring order to a sorely harassed nation and its impoverished people, but the bankers and businessmen at the same time realized there would be no permanent relief or reconstruction under the program proposed by the Communist wing of the Kuomintang Party. Delegations of businessmen and bankers sent from Shanghai to Hankow, and to Kiangsi and Hunan Provinces, for the purpose of investigating conditions under the Red regime, were seized and paraded through the villages in their shirt tails by radical students bearing placards denouncing Chinese businessmen as "Fanning-Dogs of the Imperialists." When the delegates returned to Shanghai with their reports of the reign of terror which prevailed in Hankow and surrounding areas, they immediately took steps to prevent a recurrence of such developments in the Shanghai area.

The complete story of the Shanghai war between the right-wing Kuomintangists and the left-wing radicals and Communists never was told because those who were responsible for the suppression of the radical elements obviously did not wish to reveal their methods, while those who were suppressed did not survive to tell the story. The fact that the Communists had armed and trained thousands of laborers in Shanghai mills was known to the municipal authorities, who naturally took steps to meet the situation; they were spurred to action by the Communists' seizure of strategic points in the native areas.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was at his headquarters at Nanchang in Kien Province, hence did not take part in the suppression of the Red elements at Shanghai and the same applied to three of the four outstanding leaders of the conservative wing of the party, General Li Chi-sheng, General Li Tsung-jen, and General Ho Ying-chin, as they also were in command of Nationalist armies still hundreds of miles from Shanghai.

But the same could not be said of another Nationalist commander, who also had been associated with General Chiang in his advance from Canton. The commander was Chang Chien, who did not participate in the drive on Shanghai, but diverted his troops to the west and moved directly on Nanking. When General Chang Chien's troops entered Nanking they systematically looted the city, including the foreign consulates, mission stations, and residences and business properties of both foreigners and Chinese. Acting in accordance with an apparently prearranged plan, they staged a reign of terror, and numerous outrages were committed against foreigners. Evidence pointed to the fact that the Nanking incident had been staged by leftist elements for the purpose of discrediting General Chiang Kai-shek.

Opposed to the advancing Nationalists was the able Northern general, Sun Chuan-fang, who controlled the seaboard provinces of Fukien, Chekiang, and Kiangsu from his capital at Hangchow, about one hundred miles southwest of Shanghai.

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Before the situation became critical, I had accompanied a group of correspondents to Hangchow to interview General Sun regarding his plans for the defense of the Shanghai district against the Nationalists. The Shanghai or Yangtze delta region embraced a triangular area, the three sides of which were 100, 200, and 250 miles in length respectively. Shanghai was at the eastern apex, Nanking at the north, and Hangchow at the south. Within this triangular area was the richest section of China, embracing fertile agricultural land devoted largely to the production of cotton, silk, wheat, and rice. There also were a number of prosperous industrial cities, chief of which was Wusih, center of cotton, silk and flour manufacturing within this section.

General Sun was one of the more enlightened of the Northern military commanders and had a good record as an administrator. He held a review of his troops, reputedly the best equipped in the country, and declared his ability to hold Shanghai against the "Reds." One of the correspondents who represented a New York paper sent a story that Shanghai was "impregnable" and in no danger of occupation by the Nationalists. He was not aware of the fact that the morale of General Sun's well equipped forces had been completely undermined by propaganda of the Communists.

Since the foreign-administered International Settlement and French Concession were garrisoned by foreign troops and were heavily insulated from contact with the surrounding countryside by a string of fortifications and countless strands of barbed-wire barricades, the population inside had little knowledge of what was going on outside. For many days preceding the arrival of the Nationalist forces there was continuous gunfire in the densely populated areas of Poetung, Chapei, and Nantao, where most of the native-owned industries were located and where most of the laboring population resided.

Shanghai was in such a nervous state that the wildest rumors were constantly in circulation, and most of them were believed. One day there was a report that the authorities of the French Concession had decided not to offer resistance to the advancing nationalist armies, and would permit the soldiers to enter the Concession without their arms. Since the two foreign areas were separated only by a street, this still further increased the prevailing panic in the International Settlement. That night the Settlement authorities put their army of laborers to work building a new barbed-wire barricade, this time between the International Settlement and the French Concession. I interviewed the French Consul-General about the new turn of events, but he only shrugged his shoulders. I suspected he knew more than he was willing to admit, which we soon found to be a fact, for the French already had established contact with the Nationalist (Kuomintang) officers. When the American correspondents learned that two Nationalist officers had arrived on the border of the French Concession, it was the French municipal police who opened the gates in the barricade and permitted us to pass through for an interview. The Nationalist officers were General Li Tsung-jen and General Ho Ying-chin. Both assured us that they had no intention of attacking the foreigners and that they had taken steps to restore order in the native areas about Shanghai. They informed us that the Northern commander at Shanghai had already fled, and that his troops had been disarmed.

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Boaring in mind the fact that Shanghai is China's "key" city, which any political group seeking to govern the country must control, it was obvious that both groups in the Kuomintang had made preparations to seize control of the Chinese-administered sections of the city. Propaganda squads attached to the radical branch of the party were first on the scene and had completely undermined the morale of the Northern troops which controlled the lower Yangtze district, in which Shanghai is located. The demoralization of the erstwhile defenders of the city was so complete that their commanders did not wait for the advancing Nationalist armies to get within shooting distance; they evacuated before the Southerners were within a hundred miles of the city. The result was that the Shanghai district experienced an interregnum between the evacuation of the Northerners and the arrival of the Southern armies, which were forced to travel afoot as the Northerners had seized all of the railway rolling stock and available shipping along the coast and on the Yangtze River.

The Communists thus had an opportunity to make their preparations. There was no questioning the fact that prevailing sentiment among the student and labor groups favored the leftists and their program of social reform. Preparations had been made for seizure of control of Shanghai in the manner of Hankow, and, as at Hankow, there were parades, mass meetings, speeches, and distribution of literature. The walls of buildings were plastered with posters denouncing foreign imperialists. Any Chinese who helped a foreigner was designated in word and cartoon as a "running dog" of the foreign imperialists. Chinese compradores, or native agents of the large foreign firms, who constituted a powerful group that controlled the native guilds and chambers of commerce, were singled out for special abuse by radical propagandists. The compradores were held up to public ridicule and no terms of opprobrium in a language which is rich in such expressions were overlooked in the poster campaign.

It appeared that Shanghai was on the point of experiencing a repetition of the incidents at Nanking and Hankow, particularly when it became known that thousands of rifles had been distributed to the factory workers by the radical leaders.

2--Benovolent Gangster

Out of the confusion then prevailing in Shanghai there emerged a figure, previously unknown, who took on the composite character of an earlier-decade American gangster and political boss. The character was Dou Yu-seng, now listed in the respectable China "Who's Who" as a "banker, philanthropist, and welfare worker." Dou's early life is not well known, as he was born of peasants in a little fishing village near the seacoast about twenty-five miles from metropolitan Shanghai. (The little town, renamed "Dou's Village" and inhabited by a few hundred people--boatmen, fishermen and farmers--was galvanized into sudden prominence in 1934, when Dou celebrated his fiftieth birthday by dedicating a family shrine in the village and staging a two-mile-long parade through the countryside which cost him well over a million dollars. Banners were carried in the parade containing messages of felicitation from leaders throughout the country.)

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Dou Yu-song started his career in the Shanghai French Concession as a youthful fruit peddler. He soon discovered the places where opium was sold illicitly, and familiarized himself with the racketeering, hijacking, and other practices which prevailed in Shanghai somewhat as they were practiced in the bootleg industry in the United States during prohibition days. Methods used by Dou Yu-song in gaining control of the underworld situation followed traditional lines, and Dou shortly emerged from the sidewalks and malodorous gutters of the French Concession and the adjoining native district of Nantao as controller of opium, gambling, and the amusement industries. In his rise to power Dou solved a local political problem which previously had defied solution: he amalgamated two powerful secret political organizations whose activities extended far back into the era of the Manchu Dynasty. The organizations, known as the Blue Society and the Green Society originally were engaged in intrigue against the Manchus, but after the creation of the republic they degenerated into gangsterism. The two groups were violently antagonistic, and their rivalries frequently broke out in gun battles similar to early tong wars in the Chinese communities in the United States. But Dou Yu-song accomplished the seemingly impossible by amalgamating the rival groups, and became head of the rejuvenated organization known as the Blue-Green Society, which performed functions, according to Chinese lights, probably not greatly different from those performed by political groups which dominate the large cities of the United States.

Dou Yu-song had two trusted lieutenants, one of whom controlled the amusement industry and the other the native chambers of commerce and guilds. They previously had been active in the rival Blue and Green societies respectively.

Political conditions in the French Concession facilitated Dou's rise to power. The Shanghai French Concession, although regarded as a "little piece of La Belle France," was governed not directly from Paris, but second-hand through Hanoi, capital of the French Colony of Indo-China. The inefficiency and corruption which prevailed in the French Colony were repeated in the French Concession at Shanghai. French officials, particularly chiefs of police, appointed to Shanghai quickly amassed fortunes from underworld activities which prevailed in the Concession. These conditions were exposed to the world when the French Administration at Hanoi surrendered abjectly to the Japanese.

Dou Yu-song and his associates took advantage of this situation and became the real controllers of the French Concession. Dou ruled his empire from his home in the Concession, which resembled an arsenal. But he was a liberal contributor to charities and he came to hold more chairmanships on directorates of Chinese banks and business houses than any other man in the city. His orders were enforced by hundreds of armed guards, popularly known as "Dou's plain-clothes men."

When conditions became chaotic after the withdrawal of the Northern troops, Dou Yu-song stepped into the breach and notified the local foreign authorities that he would assume responsibility for the maintenance of law and order, pending the arrival of the Nationalist troops. It was at this point that the shooting began; it continued without intermission for many days. Preparations which the radicals and Communists had made for seizing the city back-fired, and the reign of terror which the Reds had planned was turned against them.

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No accurate count was made of bodies which littered the streets of the native areas, but Edgar Snow, who was then on the staff of the CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW, estimated that more than 5,000 leftists were killed. According to Snow's account, Chou En-lai, the Communist leader, had organized 600,000 workers who staged a general strike, completely tying up the industries of the city. Order among the strikers was maintained by some 50,000 trained pickets. Police stations and the local arsenal and garrison headquarters were seized by some 5,000 armed workers, of whom about 2,000 had been specially trained. A so-called "citizens' government" was proclaimed, stated Snow's account.

But the Communist coup was short-lived. It could not stand up against the experienced gunmen of Dou Yu-song. When the Nationalist troops under General Li Tsung-jen, General Pai Chung-hsi, and General Ho Ying-chin arrived at Shanghai they found the job already completed; the city was handed over to them by Dou Yu-song and his lieutenants. Chou En-lai, the Communist leader, was imprisoned and other radical leaders, who were not captured and executed, fled to Hankow. Shortly afterward, when General Chiang Kai-shek arrived and assumed control of the situation he issued an edict expelling the Communists from the Kuomintang and ordering the deportation from China of all Russian Soviet advisors. The enforcement of the expulsion and deportation order at Canton was accompanied by serious rioting and the massacre of many members of the leftist group, including several Russians. The lives of a number of the Russian advisors were saved by American Consul Houston, who permitted them to seek refuge in the American consulate at Canton.

After the collapse of the "Canton Commune" the Reds attempted to set up a regime at Swatow on the coast of Kwentung Province, north of Canton, but it could not stand against the Kuomintang troops led by General Chiang Kai-shek. Finally the defeated Red forces which were scattered over Central and South China combined with those driven from Hankow, and formed a "Soviet Government of China" in the mountainous areas on the border between Kiangsi and Fukien Provinces, where they held out for several months, but ultimately were ejected by Chiang Kai-shek's air-bombers and forced to flee to the Northwest, where they established another communistic government at Yenan, Shensi—which is still in existence.

The last episode staged by the Red wing faction in the Kuomintang was at Nanking when Communists within the Nationalist army staged the attack on foreign residents. Several Americans and Britons were killed and wounded, and it became necessary for American gunboats on the Yangtze at Nanking to fire on a mob of soldiers attacking members of the American consulate and local American residents, including several women, who were marooned on a hill overlooking the city wall. The soldiers were frightened away by the gunboat barrage, and the Americans were evacuated over the wall to the gunboats on the river. After General Chiang Kai-shek's loyal commanders succeeded in restoring order, the leaders of the Communist coup, which was designed to discredit the Kuomintang with the foreign Powers, were tried and several of them were executed.

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On the evening of the day following the Nanking incident, the correspondents were summoned to a press conference at the American consulate. I was accompanied to the meeting by Prof. Manley O. Hudson of the Department of International Law at Harvard, and we were introduced to an American missionary who had been in Nanking at the time of the "reign of terror." He told us of the murder of Dr. Williams, President Emeritus of Nanking University, and that of an American woman secretary in one of the mission offices because she refused to hand over the keys to the safe; and also of the shooting and wounding of the British Consul.

These incidents had already been reported, but the intense interest of the correspondents was aroused when the speaker, who was in a highly excited state as a result of his experiences, declared that there had been several instances where foreign women had been raped by the crazed Red soldiers. Copies of the missionary statement, which had just been typed by one of the consular staff, were passed out to the correspondents. Before the conference broke up, Dr. Hudson suggested to me that I ask the spokesman whether he had personal knowledge of any of the rape case. He replied with considerable heat that he did not have first-hand information, but had been told of the incidents by persons whom he trusted. This immediately aroused a serious controversy, in the course of which Dr. Hudson explained that he had served on a commission which had investigated "World War I atrocities," and that few alleged rape cases had stood up under investigation.

The upshot of the matter was that most of the correspondents who cabled the rape story qualified it as not based on first-hand information. It should be stated that so-called "rape" stories had been freely circulated about the city and had appeared in some of the papers. These stories were exploited by reactionary interests with the object of provoking armed intervention on the part of the foreign Powers.

Several weeks after the above happenings I received a letter from an American woman physician who was in Nanking at the time of the incident and had made a first-hand investigation of the rape allegations. She said that there had been only one case, and that it was "attempted" rape. Her account stated that three soldiers had entered a house and, finding an American woman alone, had dragged her to an upstairs room. However, they became frightened and ran away without accomplishing their purpose. This was the only case of the kind which came to my attention in more than a quarter of a century of newspaper work in China.

Dou Yu-song was hailed as the deliverer of Shanghai from the Red menace. Shortly afterward the home French Government became exasperated over the corruption and gangsterism which had prevailed for so many years in the French Concession, sent an admiral and a naval force to Shanghai, and effected a complete clean-up of gangsterism. After that Dou Yu-song became a respectable businessman and philanthropist and was decorated by the Government. However, he kept an anchor to windward by retaining control of his Blue-Green Society and his small army of plain-clothes men.

When the Japanese intervened at Shanghai early in 1932 in order to suppress anti-Japanese activities which flared up following Japan's seizure of Manchuria, Dou Yu-song's "army" again went into action in the Hongkow section of Shanghai, which the Japanese had occupied. Firing from concealed positions in upper stories and on roofs of buildings, they wreaked havoc among Japan's naval forces as well as civilians. Dou's plain-clothes men aided materially in the defense of the city and made the intervention so costly to the Japanese that they were glad to accept mediation and withdraw their naval forces. When the Japanese launched their war in China proper in 1937, Dou Yu-song and his followers, after defending the city to the last ditch, withdrew with the Nationalist forces to West China, where they have stayed.

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Many months after the suppression of the Communists at Shanghai, Stirling Fessenden, American chairman of the International Settlement and popularly known as the "Lord Mayor of Shanghai," told me the following story of the "saving" of Shanghai from the Chinese Reds and their Soviet advisors. So far as I know the full story has never appeared in print, as it was "off the record" until Fessenden's death in Shanghai following the Japanese occupations.

Fessenden said that the authorities of the French Concession were chiefly responsible for bringing Dou Yu-song into the Shanghai "war" between the Kuomintang and the Russian-supported Chinese Communists. Dou had "grown up" in the French Concession, hence it was natural for the French to turn to him for assistance, as all governmental authority had collapsed in the Chinese areas surrounding the foreign districts. Fessenden said,

"The French chief of police phoned me one day and asked me to meet him for a confidential talk about the local situation. I went to the address he gave me and was surprised to find it was a Chinese residence surrounded by a high wall, with armed guards at the front gate. I was admitted and immediately ushered into a waiting room. I could not help but notice that the large entrance hall was lined on both sides with stacks of rifles and sub-machine guns. Soon I heard voices, and the French official entered with two Chinese. One was Dou Yu-song and the other was an interpreter. We got down to business immediately, the French chief of police explaining that he had been discussing with Dou the matter of defending the foreign settlement against the Communists, as the local Chinese Government, which was composed of Northerners, had collapsed following the evacuation of the Northern defense commander and his troops. Dou went to the point in a businesslike manner. He was willing to move against the Reds, but he had two conditions: first, he wanted the French authorities to supply him with at least 5,000 rifles and ample ammunition. Then turning to me," said Fessenden, "he demanded permission to move his military trucks through the International Settlement, something which the Settlement authorities had never granted to any Chinese force. Dou said this was necessary in order to move arms and munitions from one section of the native city to the other."

Fessenden told Dou he would agree subject to the approval of the Municipal Council. Continuing, Fessenden said:

"I realized we were taking a desperate chance in dealing with a man of Dou's reputation, but the situation was critical, as an attempt by the Communists to seize the Settlement and the French Concession was certain to result in widespread disorder and bloodshed, involving the lives of thousands of Americans, Britons, and other foreign residents as well as tens of thousands of Chinese who resided in the foreign-administered sections of the city. Since the Communists had plotted to seize the foreign areas and defend themselves against the Kuomintang troops, it would mean that the foreigners would be sandwiched between the contending forces. The result would have been international complications far more serious than anything which had occurred since the establishment of the Settlement nearly a century ago. It took Dou about three weeks to complete his job, and by that time sufficient foreign troops had arrived to preserve order within the foreign sections: and also by that time General Chiang Kai-shek had arrived and assumed control in the native area. He immediately announced that the Kuomintang troops had no intention of attacking the foreigners, as had occurred at Nanking. He also announced that the perpetrators of the Nanking outrages would be punished."

Pages 159 and 160

Many American professional defenders of the Chinese Communists have written tearful paragraphs about the "massacre" of Chinese workers and students by the Chinese "fascists and capitalists" at Shanghai, Canton and elsewhere. They either gloss over or omit entirely the all-important point that the so-called workers and students had been trained in revolutionary methods and terrorism either in Moscow or by Russian agents in China, and that those same workers and students were provided with arms by agents of the Third International operating in China. So long as the Communists maintain the principle of "force" as a means of accomplishing their political designs, they can have no cause for complaint when their enemies use similar methods in opposing them.

検察官側證人デヨン、B、バウエル著「在支二十五年」抄

(ニューヨーク、マクミラン書房、一九四五年版)

上海に於ける戰闘

一、帝國主義、國家主義、共産主義

一四一及一四二頁

私は國民軍が揚子江に到達するずっと前から既に國共合作がうまく行つてゐないと云ふ多くの暗示を受けてゐた。私の得たこの消息は蔣介石大將が黨領袖に宛てた二冊の秘密小冊子の形に於て、あつた。この小冊子に於て蔣は共産黨が國民黨を驅逐し、そして黨機關のみならず終には政權をも我が物にしようと、秘かに企らんでゐると難詰した。併し、私は國共軍の漢口、南京及上海占領後に起つた悲劇的な出來事には夢にも思ひ及ばなかつた。共産軍の進出の影響を一番先に蒙つたのは彼等の進路にあつたアメリカ及西洋諸國のキリスト教傳道師達であつた。どの船もどの列車も布教關係の数百の男子、婦人及子供を上海に運んで來た。

この人達の大部分は剛暴な兵士達に家を略奪されて餘儀なく遁れ出て來たものであつた。傳教會堂と宗教學校は特に赤軍兵士連の目標になつて根こそぎに荒されてしまつた。傳道師達は帝國主義と、キリスト教と言ふ二つの點で攻撃を受けたものであつた。

私は傳道師の指導者連が催した新聞記者會談に出席したことを見てゐる。其席上皆は交々起つて各自自分等の地域に於て軍政治班の者達の犯した過誤行爲を述べ立てた私はその一人に共産主義の學生、兵士達が強烈な宣傳に依つて永年に亘るキリスト教傳道師達の努力の結晶を覆へすこととの出來た事實は一体どうして説明し得うかと訊ねて見た。彼は「それは破壊は建設よりはやきしいからである。」と答へた。そして彼は次の様に説明した。「傳道師達に向けられたるこの廣く擴つた反帝國主義及反宗教宣傳が國民主義と政治的改革の問題と密接に結びつけられその爲大多数のキリスト教信者達も彼等の外國友人や恩人を助けに來ることが出來なかつた。外國人を助ける支那人があつたならば彼は帝國主義者の大と云ふ烙印を押さるゝのであつた。」

外國人は支那共産黨の背後のソヴィエトの力に氣づいてゐたが、支那に起つてゐる鬭争が、レーニンの死後ロシア國內に於ての共産黨の二領袖ジヨザフ、スターリンとレオン、トロツキイの間の死ぬか生きるかの鬭争の一部であることに氣がつくものは少かつた。この鬭争は共産主義運動の根本目的に終んで起つてゐるのである。

レーニンは曾つて「支那は沸き立つてゐる。湯沸しを沸き立たせて置くのは吾々の義務である。」と言つたが、支那の赤化を企てたのは、世界革命の主導者レオン、トロツキイ派の仕事であつた。ドイツ、オーストリア、ハンガリ、及イングランドに於て失敗した第三インターナショナルの指導者達は支那とアジア數億民衆の赤化を企てる事を決した。このイデオロギイの背後には赤色ロシア指導者側が、緊密に統制されてゐない極東の植民地保護領を衝いてアメリカ、イングランド及他のヨーロッパ資本家帝國主義者達に對する怨を晴らさんとする慾望があつた

一四二、一四三、一四四頁

彼等は若し彼等が支那で成功したならば、共産主義國家がもう一つ出

來ることにもなり、歐洲で販鐵砲を喰つた結果威信を失つた第三インターナショナルの勝利となると、論じた。更に、かかる成功が同志トロツキの世界革命計畫に強烈に反対したスターリンの高まりつゝある政治的名聲を弱めることが夢想された。スターリンはロシア國内に力を集中する方がよいと信じてゐた。最後に一九一七年の赤化革命後ロシアから支那の領土に逃亡した数千のロシア避難民を封じ込み又抑壓し得ることも予想された。是等の避難移住者は皆赤化反對であつた。

多數の赤徒は俄羅西、猶太、亞米利加、英國、印度及土耳其等の各方面から支那の革命を援助し、第三インターナショナルがロシア農民達及世界の勞動階級から集めた莫大な金額を共に使用するため支那に参つた。本國では仕事を出かけるに歩いて行くか又は電車に乗つていだ宣傳屋や政治煽動屋は支那で彼等が活動するには新しい亞米利加製の自動車が「必需品」であることを直ぐ發見した。上海のアメリカ自動車を取引する者はこの赤色景氣の縦く間、儲けに儲けたアメリカ共産黨の主領アル・ブラウターが上海に着いた時彼は直ちにこの無錢砲な浪費振りに止めを

刺した。上海で彼のために催されたはなやかな宴會の席上彼は黒パンと水の外は食べることを拒んで、これこそ支那革命のために金を寄贈した餘へに泣くロシア農民達のこん立てであると言つた。併しブラウダ一のこの上海の現地に來るのは遅過ぎた。露支亞の顧問の或者の專制的、獨裁的な行動は既に多數の國民黨首領株の支持を失はしめてゐた。

私は支那に於ける共産主義運動の情勢についてブラウダ一と會見したが、露支亞や支那の農民、労働者が飢えているのに自動車を乗り廻して酒宴に耽つてゐる政治屋達を彼は力を籠めて非難した。

支那に於ける露支亞共産黨の實踐の失敗と人民委員トロツキーの結局の失脚との密接な關係は、トロツキーの回憶錄「チャーレス・スクリブナー・息子會社發行」の一節に明かにされてゐる。その中でトロツキーは支那の共産黨はブルジョワ國民黨に加入することを餘儀なくされ、労農會（ソビエツツ）を創設することを禁ぜられ、その農地革命を阻止され労働者の組織化を手控えることを餘儀なくされたと非難している。トロツキーはスターリンが國共提携を支持し、攻撃の矢面に起つ大將蔣

介石を辯護したと断定している。上海に於て支那共産黨の血醒い斷歴があつた直後トロツキーはかかる彈壓行爲が更に多數の支持者を赤旗に引附けるだらうとの予想のもとに忍耐を勧めたと自ら語つた。併し、それはトロツキーの期待通りには行かなかつた。そして彼は言つた。獨逸革命の敗北と英國の總罷勞の失敗の後を受けて支那に於ける新しい災厄は國際的革命に對する大衆の失望を強めたに過ぎずそしてスターリンの國內改革主義政策が心理的根據を得るに至つたのはこの大衆の失望に依る處が多かつたのである。

一四四一四五二四六頁

（本文五七頁）一三一

南京及漢口に於ける情勢の發展が支那の最大にして最も歐米化せる上海の支那人や諭在留外國人に深き危惧の感を起さしめたのは當然であつた上海は世界最大港の一であつてこの上海地區に於ては東亞大陸の同一面積の如何なる他の地域よりもより多くの産業が密集してゐる。上海は當時人口約三百萬その中約七萬五千乃至八萬人が殆んど世界の凡いる國民と人種を包含する外國人であつた。

この地は支那に於てクリスチヤン傳道に從事せる新教及びカトリック教の諸傳道事業の大多数の極東本部所在地であつた。従つてフイリッピンを除き、亞細亞の如何なる所よりも上海地方にはアメリカの資本がより巨額にされつた。上海に於ける英國の投資は米國の投資よりも多く、その上に來るものは只英門の香港に於ける投資だけであつた。

外國新聞、特に、有力な英國新聞「ノース、ジャイナー、デーリー、ニュース」に現はれた漢口事件の要旨すべき情報は共同租界やフランス租界の居住

民の間に半恐慌状態を惹いた。北京在留のゾットナムウイルさん云ふ英國知名の記者は漢口に出向き「揚子江上の赤き波」といふ題でその情勢に因まる觀察記を連續的に書いた。

私は有力な一英同仲買業會社の支配人が開催した新聞記者會議に出席した。其會議で私は外同商工會議所やその他の諸團体が或まさまつた資金を集め共產黨に對し大規模な對抗宣傳を行ふ事を決した事を説明された。そして其支配人は上海皆新聞の協力を求め且つ各新聞が共產黨の發展を暴護する特別附録を發行すべき事を提議した。却てこの主唱者は自らの提案した反共ブルグラムに對し私の批評を求めた。依つて私は全般的の國民主義の行動を「赤」として烙印しようとする企ては恐らく其運動の發起人の目的を失敗に陥れしむるであらう、何故ならばそれは全支那人の反感を抱いて全「民主主義運動を赤の手に操せしむる傾向を生ずるからである」と述べた。

私は更に支那の「民主主義」はシア共產黨進出以前から抱かれたものでありそしてこの兩運動の目的が相反するものである以上兩者の根柢は、列弱が

眞正面から反抗の政界を探らない限り永續するものではないと語った。

私は尙ほ又米國も英國も斯の國民主主義運動に反対し或は此運動を共産主義的さ
略印するに依つて不信に附する如何なる企てをも承認しないであらうとの
信念を披瀝した。私はそれ故この討抗宣傳戰に協力することを拒んで會談を
去した。支那に於ける英國の長老株の新聞ノース、チャイナ、デイリー、ニ
ューオーは日頃支那政策に關しては貶謗なそして時々しては豪宕な方針を堅持し
ゐたがこの度に限り、その編輯人は自らの威儀を忘れて全國民主主義運動に眞向
に反対の社説陣を張つた。そして此方針の爲に二人の米人記者が雇入れられ、
其助力の下に赤化問題に關し一つの附錄を發行した。この附錄は今日さ確、そ
の内容に在る誇張的、ヒステリ一記事の故を以て新界の一珍重品視されてゐる
が其内にも讀者に殊の外興味を感じしめたのは一活動集眞及び公的集會に於て
どうして共産黨員を見分けるか』といふ題の下に讀者に説法を行つた一記事で
あつた。毎日その掲ぎが續つて後其新聞の理事たちは、この二人のアメリカ宣
傳記者を解雇し更に編輯人を取締へて變化した支那事情に則する新聞政策を採
るに至つた。

一四六及一四七頁

着手盛宣傳の結果さし一上海に於ける兩外國地域は直に戰時下的態勢をとり
數千の苦力は日夜塹壕、刺線防柵及びトーチカの建設に徴はれた。上海に於
ける外國人向の恐慌は外國の首府に廣がり、外國領事館及び公使館により海
外に送られたその後の電報的報告により更に悪化した。二三週間を出すして
米海兵隊並びに米軍隊、英軍隊、日本軍隊、伊太利海兵隊、及び印度支那よ
りの佛國西安南軍を含む約四萬の外國軍隊が同市に派遣された。米軍は千九
百年の北清事變の古明者スボドリード・パトラー大將に指揮された。クニイカ
ー教徒のパトラーは新聞に對して平和主義的公表を與へる事により常に他の
指揮官等を激昂させてゐた。

紛擾の頂點にあつた時私はパトラー將軍の假ふした新聞記者會に於て將
軍に向ひ支那の國民主義運動を脅壓するに十分なほゞ強力な武力侵略には何
程の兵力が必要だらうかと尋ねた。彼は眞際なく「五十萬の軍隊無しには私
は支那に於て武力侵略を始めようとは夢にも思はないであらう。そして恐ら

く一年立たぬ内に更に百萬が必要であらう。」と答へた。バトラー大將の此
聲明は二三年後日本人が二百萬以上の軍隊を以てしてそして何年もの交戦の
後尚ほ支那を征服する事が出来なかつた時翻証された其後別の機會にバトラー
一大將は彼がワシントンから受けたる命令は「支那軍の如何なる組織的集
団に對しても砲撃するな」といふ事であると打明けた。彼は彼の唯一の目的
が暴徒の非行に對してアメリカ居留民を保護する事であると聲明した。後日
合衆國に對て彼は彼の軍隊が支那に駐屯中唯一の最も微小なる砲砲をし爲
さなかつたと語つた。退役後彼は米國及び他の諸外国の支那駐軍隊の撤退
を主張して彼方此方で演説を行つた。

感情の平衡を保つて、干涉政策に反対した他の一人の米國軍人にアシア水城
合衆國海陸司令長官マーク・シ・ブリストル提督がある。ブリストル大將は
第一次世界戰爭合衆國の高等軍事官としてトルコに赴任したそして彼は同
國に對する聯合國側の干渉運動の無益さを認めた。

最初の駐支英軍司令官ゴート卿は英門政府も又支那に於て雄大な軍事的冒險

に乗り出す意志の無い事を知つて氣を腐らせて英門に附つた。

揚子江流域の侵略及び上海、漢口間六百哩に亘る揚子江の两岸各々幅五十哩の「衛生地帶」の建設の爲の入念な計畫は何年もの間共同租界の眷類の中には控へられてあつたが元の眷類戸籍の中に入れられ益々块をかぶるこざなつた。この計畫は上海に於ける舊式で徹底的帝國主義者即ち外國の軍の示威に依つて支那を暴露せしめ得る者へた者達に依つて作成されたのであつた。ゴート専に代つて派遣された新任英軍司令官は開港後間もなく新聞記者會見を催ふした。自分の家の壁に新しい地圖を示しながら彼は言つた「私は支那に民軍の所在を示す看板の色を翻へた事を見て欲しい以前我々は赤い旗を用ゐてゐたが、今は紅旗の赤り青色である。」彼は支那の民主暴運動が支那に新時代をもたらさむとする純粹な革新的努力であり、上海の頑固な帝國主義者達によつて流布された昂奮せる宣傳や誇張された情報の中に附かれてゐるやうな米国人並に歐洲諸国人を国外に遣せんさの目的の氣に計被された「揚子江の赤い波」ではない事を英國政府が認めたと聲明した。

数多くの暴行が外國人に對して行はれたのである、證據は左翼分子が蔣介石委員長の信用を失墜せしめる爲に蔣軍事件を演じた事實を示してゐる。

效應北方將軍孫傳芳はこの志士頭兵黨員に反對であつた。彼は上海から西南方約百哩の杭州にある彼の根據地から福建、浙江、江蘇等の海岸地方の艦船を支那してゐた。

べき生存者がゐなかつたからである。市當局は共産黨員が上海紡績諸工場の何千といふ労働者達を武装させ訓練したと言ふ事實を知つて、當然情勢に對應すべき處置を講じた。彼等は、共産黨員がその住民地帶内の宣傳上價値ある地點を奪取した等に私載されて活動を起した。

蔣介石委員長は江西省南昌にある司令部にゐた。それ故上海に於ける赤色分子の鎮壓には参加しなかつた。國民黨の保守派の有數なる指導者四人の中の三人即ち李濟深將軍、李宗仁將軍、何應欽將軍はやはり、上海から何苦惱も離れてゐる國民軍の司令官であつたので、蔣介石委員長の場合と同様であつた。

併し今一人の國民軍司令官に就いては同様であつたと惟言ひ得ない。それはやはり蔣委員長と共同で廣東から進撃した者のあつた張貞チヤンチエンと言ふ司令官であつた。彼は上海の動亂には關係しなかつたがその指揮下にある部隊を西方に向け直接南京を目指して前進させた。チヤンチエン將軍の部隊が南京に入つた時、外國總領事館、キリスト教傳道所、外國人及支那人の住居、事業財産を含むその都市の掠奪を組織的に行つたのである。彼等は、明かに前以て用意された計畫に従つて行動し、恐怖支配を齊らし、

(一四七、一四八、一四九頁)

上海に於ける支那商業及經濟界の保守的な人々は概して國民黨派を支持し、それらが十年の間に國內に擴がつた政治的不安を終結せしめるだらうと期待してゐた。そしてひどく悩まされた國家と、その窮乏せる國民に秩序を齎すであらうと考へた。併し同時に銀行家や實業家の國民黨の左翼派が提議した計畫の下では永久的な救済或は復興はあり得ない事を實認してゐたのである。共產主義制の下にある状況を説明する爲に漢口又は江西、廣東へ派遣された實業家、銀行家の代表者達は支那人實業家の事を帝國主義者の手先と非難するプラカードをかゝげた過激派學生に撲へられシャツ姿のまゝ村々を練り歩かせられた。代表者達が漢口及其の周辺を撲つてゐる恐怖情態に關する報告を携へて上海に歸還した時、彼等は、上海地區に斯くの如きものの發達を再び見ぬやう、速早くその手段を講じた。

右翼國民黨員と左翼過激派及共產黨員との間に行はれた上海騒亂の全眞相が不明である事は過激分子鎮壓の責任者達が明に、その方法を勿論公表するのを好まなかつたし、又一方被鎮壓者の中にはその報道を語る

(一四九、一五〇、一五一頁)

状勢逼迫する前に、余は記者團と次に杭州に赴き、孫將軍に面會、彼の國民軍攻撃に對する上海地區防衛計畫に關し聽取した。上海又は揚子江デルタ地域は三角地區を抱きその三角形の各邊の長さは夫々百、二百及び二百五十哩であつた。

上海は東方、南京は北方、杭州は南方の各頂點に位置していた。この三角形地區内には、綿、生絲、小麥及び米の產出を主とする肥沃なる農作地を抱き支那に於ける豐饒なる地域であつた。又數箇の繁華なる都市も存在し、その重なるものは無錫にして、この地方に於ける綿、生絲及び紗製造の中心地であつた。

孫將軍は北部軍司令官中にても遠識者の一人で又行政家としても立派なる經歷を持つていた。彼は文部に於ける最優秀裝備を以て知られる部下將卒の國兵を行ひ、而して「共產軍」の攻撃に對し上海を支持する能力あることを宣言した。一^{ニコロ}新開を代表せる記者の一人は、上海は「難攻不落」にして國民軍によつて占有される危険をしと傳へた。彼は孫將

軍の裝備をも軍隊の士氣も共産主義者の宣傳により、完全に殺されていた事實を知らなかつたのだ。

外國の統治下にあつた共同租界及び佛租界は外國の軍隊により守備され、一連の堡壘や、無數の鐵塔網防柵^{ゲリヤード}を張り廻らして、周囲の地區より堅固に隔離されていたから、租界内の住民は、外界に起つた事件を殆んど知らなかつた。國民軍到着に先んじ、幾日もの間、支那側所有の商業施設があり又労働者の多くが住んでいた浦東、閘北及び南昌等人口稠密なる地域に於て、連續的に砲火が交へられた。

今や上海は人心洶々として、流言蜚語が絶へず飛ばされ、しかもその多くが信ぜられた。現る日佛租界の當局が、進出國民軍に對し抵抗しないことを決定し、武器を持たざる將兵の入場を許すといふことが傳へられた、兩租界は、一街路により分離されてゐるのみだから、この情報は共同租界を襲うた恐慌を一層激化した。その夜租界當局は、多数の労働者を使用して、今度は共同租界と佛租界との間に、新らしく鐵塔網防柵を造築した。余は佛國總領事に會見し、事件の新轉向につけ質問したが、彼はたゞ肩をすくめたのみであつた。

(一四九、一五〇、一五一頁)

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今や上海は人心拘々として、流言蜚語が絶へず飛ばされ、しかもその多くが信せられた。或る日佛租界の當局が、進出國民軍に對し抵抗しないことを決定し、武器を持たざる將兵の入場を許すといふことが傳へられた、兩租界は、一街路により分離されてゐるのみだから、この情報は共同租界を裏うた恐慌を一層激化した。その夜租界當局は、多數の労働者を使用して、今度は共同租界と佛租界との間に、新らしく鐵柵網防柵を造築した。余は佛國總領事に會見し、事件の新轉向につき質問したが、彼はたゞ肩をすくめたのみであつた。

余は少徳は承認する以上に事實の眞相を知つてゐるのだと嫌疑をかけたが、果してこれはその通りであつたことが間もなく解つた。即ち佛人は既に國民軍へ國民黨滅・將校との連絡が成立つていたのであつた。米酒記者が、二度の韓辰軍侵攻が、今租界の境界線に達したこと聞いた時、我等のために防禦の意を露き、嘗見のため通過を許したのは、佛國側市長察言であつた。國民軍將校といふのは李宗仁及び何應欽の兩大將であつた。兩人とも、外國人を攻撃する考はなく又上海内外の支那側地域に於ける秩序回復の發効は既に認じてゐることを我々に確信した。又彼等は上海にあつた北方軍司令官以純に逃走し、その實際も武裝解除された旨我々に通告した。

余は一様は承認する以上に事實の眞相を知つてゐるのだと嫌疑をかけたが、果してこれほどの説りであつたことが間もなく解つた。即ち佛人には既に國民軍へ國民黨派へ將校との連絡が成立つていたのであつた。米商記者が、二萬の韓房宣傳隊が、佛租界の境界線に達したと聞いた時、妙等じたるに防禦の意を露き、實見のため通過を許したのは、佛國側市總理官であつた。國民軍將校といふのは李宗仁及び何應欽の兩大將であつた。兩人詫な、外國人を攻撃する者はなく又上海内外の支那領地域に於ける秩序維持の對策は既に講じてゐることを我々に確信した。又彼等は上海にあつた北洋軍司令官は既に逃走し、その直歐も武装解除された旨我々に通告した。

(一五一及一五二頁)

上海は中華民國の「重要」都市であつて、この國を統治せんと欲する政黨はいづれも之を支配しなければならぬといふ事實を忘れずに、國民黨の兩派が同市の中國行政地區の支配権を獲得せんと準備したのは明白であつた。同黨の過激派所屬の宣傳班がまづ現地にきて、上海が位する揚子江下流地方を支配する北軍の士氣を完全に覆した。同市の前防衛軍の頽敗振りは、その指揮官、遠は進軍する國民軍が射撃距離にはいるのも待たなかつた程であつた。彼等は南軍が同市の百噸以内に達しないうちに撤兵した。その結果上海地盤には、北軍の撤兵と南軍の到着との間に行政休止が生じた。それは北軍が鐵道の車輛や沿岸及び揚子江の役立つ船舶一切を占領してしまつたので、南軍は徒步で行軍しなければならなかつた爲である。

共產黨はかくして準備の機會に恵まれた。學生や労働者の集団間には左派及でその社會改革綱領を支持する風潮がみなぎつてゐたことは疑ふ

餘地がなかつた。漢口と同様に、上海の統治権獲得の準備がなされた。漢口同様、行進、示威大會、演説、印刷物の配布が行はれた。建物の壁に海外の領土擴張主義者を非難するポスターが貼られた。外國人を援助する中國人は文字や漫畫で外國領土擴張主義者の「走狗」と呼ばれた。中國の組合及び商工會議所を支配する有力な集團たる同國の賣辦及び外國大陸部の中國人代理人たちは、過激な宣傳班によつて選ばれて特に説教された。賣辦は公然と嘲罵にさらされ、ポスター戰では、同表現にはとんでもゐる國語のあらゆる罵言の言葉が使用された。

特に過激派の首領たちによつて数千の小説が工場労働者たちに配布されたりと併つた時には、上海も、南京及び漢口と同じ事件を繰りかへさんとするかに見えた。

二 情ある無頼の徒

當時上海に於ける混亂の中から、以前には名を知られなかつた一人物が現れた。彼は今世紀初頭のアメリカのギヤングの徒と親分政治家の性格とを兼備へてゐた。この人物はドー、ユー、センで現在では中華民國の上流「人名簿」に「銀行家、博愛家、社會事業家」として記載されて

ある。ドーは首都上海を去る約二十五里的海岸に近い小漁村の農夫の子として生れたから、彼の初期の生活はよくわかつてゐない。「ドーの村」と呼ばれ二三百の住民一船乗り、漁夫、農夫の住む小さな町は、一九三四年に突然有名になつた。これはドーは百万ドル以上もかけて、村に同族の神社を献内したり二哩の長きにわたる行列を練出して彼の五十回の誕生日を祝つたからである。その行列には、國中の要人達からの祝辭を書いてある幾多の旗があつた。

ドー、ユーセングは上海市、佛租界の一青年果物行商人から身を起したのである。

彼は間もなく法律に反して阿片の賣る場所を見つけた、而して米國で禁酒當時、酒密賣の時盛に行はれて居たやうに上海で流行普及して居た恐喝、たかり、ゆすり其他類似行為をよく知るやうになつた。

暗黒社會の状勢を支配する彼の通り方は今迄あり來りの方法であつた。彼はやがて佛租界、隣接して居た支那人地域南島の歩道と臭氣紛々たる細民窟に居たのであるが間もなく阿片、賭博、其他の娛樂場經營者社會

を支配するやうに頭角をあらはした。

ドーが有力になるに及んで前々から解決困難であつた地元の政治問題を解決してしまつた。彼は遠く滿洲朝廷の時代から働いて居つた二つの有力な秘密政治結社を合併した。藍衣社、青斑社と云ふ此秘密機關は元々滿洲人に對し陰謀を企てゝ居たものであつたが、中華民國が出來てから

後此等の結社は暴力團に墮落してしまつた。

此二つの集團は互にはげしく相反目して居つた。かつて米國の支那人社會にあつたトング争鬭のやうに彼等はしばしば駆砲射撃を交した。然しドー、ユーセングは一見不可能と見えた敵對する此二集團の併合をなし遂げ、藍青社と呼ぶ新生團體の首長となつた。之は米國の大都市を統治して居る政治團體がやつて居ると恐らく大差なく、藍青社は支那的見解に準據して機能を遂行して居つた。

ドー、ユーセングには信用せる二人の助手があつた。一人は娛樂事業を支配し、他の一人は支那人商工會議所及商業組合を支配監視して居つた。此二人は以前各々藍衣社及び青斑に屬して居り互に盛に相反目して居つたものである。

佛租界に於ける政局はドーが有力になり出世するに都合がよかつた。上海の佛租界はラベルブランセの緒國だと云はれて居たけれど直接パリから統治されては居なかつた。佛印殖民地にある主都ハノイを經由して間接に統治されて居たのである。

佛直民に續々起る無能行爲、不正事件は上海の佛租界に繰返された。上海市に職を奪た佛人官吏達殊に高級警官達は租界にひろまつて居る暗黒界で活潑に暗躍して居る徒から早急に金錢財寶を取り集めたものであるハノイのフランス政府が日本人に耻しく降服した時此事が廣く世界に暴露されたのである。ドー、ユーセングと其仲間は此状態に便乗して佛租界に於ける眞の支配者となつた。

ドーは佛租界にあり、兵器廠でもあつた自宅から彼の王國を支配して居た。然し彼は慈善事業に對しては氣前よく寄附を行つた。誰よりも多く支那人銀行、支那人商社の取締役の上に立つて會長の席を含めるようになつた。彼の指令は「ドーの私服兵」と云はれて居る何百と云ふ武装守衛によつて執行された。

北方軍が撤退して世間が混亂した時ドーは中間に現はれて地元外國人當

局に對し中華民國政府軍が到着する迄法律と秩序の維持に對し責任をもつと通告した。其時發砲が始まつた。幾日も間もなく續いた。過激派と共産派が市街占領の爲めに用意した學は却て逆火となつた而して過激派が企てた恐怖時代は却て彼等に向けられた。

中華書局影印
一九八二年十一月

第一三四、一四五及一五六頁

其の土着民地區の町に散在せる死体の正確なる數は、判明しなかつたが、當時「ザヤイナ・ウイークリー・レヴュー」に信じてゐたエドガー・スノーによれば、百二十人以上の死体の遺骸が殺害されたといふ。

の説明に伏れけ、其の主張が元々、六七十万の勞働者を組織し、同市の商業を完全に止めてしまつた。

警察署、地方兵器庫、守備隊司令部等は、約五千人の武装警備者に代りて
奉公されたが右の中約二千人は特別に訓練されてゐたものである。所謂

「人民政
府」が宣言されたとスノーの説明は述べてある。

然しながら、魏の共産主義者クー・テ・ターは復命に終つた。此のクー・テ・ターは杜月笙の麾下の老兵達には對抗し得なかつた。李宗仁、白崇禧、何應欽三將軍麾下の国民政府軍隊が上海に到着した時には仕事は既に

片付いてゐた。同書は、杜月笙と共に同官等に收り右三將軍に引き渡された。共産主義者のリーダーたる周恩來は投獄され、他の犠牲又は處刑を蒙かれた無数的り、ダーリー達は滬口に逃亡した。其の後門も無く蔣介石將軍は上海に到着し、時局收拾に着手し、国民党より共産主義者を追放すべしとの布告を發し、支那から總べてのソヴェート人四萬を放逐すべしとの命令を發した。廣東に渡ける共産主義者の除名と追放の實行は、激甚なる暴動を伴ひ、多數の左翼の主義者が虐殺され、その中には若干の露西亞人も含まれてゐた。敵人の露西亞人周間達は米國領事ハウストンに依つて命を助けられたが同領事は、廣東の米軍領事館内に彼等を避難させたのであつた。

「廣東コソモトソレ」廣深後、共産主義者達は、廣東の北方に営る廣東省沿岸の油港にて政權を樹立しようとしたが、蔣介石將軍の増援せる国民党軍宣戰には對抗出来なかつた。遂に、中支及び南支方間に追ひ出されたる敗殘赤軍は、滬口から逃はれ來つた仲間と連合して、江西省と福建省と

の中間境界の山嶺地帶に「支那ソヴェート政府」を組織して、同地帶に於て彼等は數ヶ月間持ちこたへたのであつたが、山西彼等は蔣介石の爆撃機に依つて陥没され、彼等は北西方面に逃亡する運命を辿り、彼等は陝西省延安に

南京事變の起つた日の翌夜通信員一同はアメリカ領事館に開かれた新聞記者會議に呼ばれた。私はその會にハーバード大學の國際法勸授マンレイ、オー、ハドソン氏について行つた、そこで我々は「テロ横行」當時南京に居つた一アメリカ宣教師に紹介された。彼は我々に南京大學名譽總長ウイリヤムス博士が殺害された事及金庫の鍵を渡すのを拒んだ爲に傳道事務所の中でアメリカ婦人秘書が殺害された事を話した、而して又英國領事が射撃されて負傷した事も告げた。

此等の事件は既に報道されて居つた、けれども語り手は自らの數々の体験で大ひに興奮してゐたのだが、外國の婦人が熱狂した赤重兵士のために凌辱を受けた實例數件を発表した時は通信員一同の興味をいたくそ、り立てた。一領事館員が丁度印書し了へた宣教師の陳述の寫が通信員達に渡された。會議の散會前ハドソン博士は私に凌辱の例を直接見聞して

あたのかと語り手に訊いて見ては如何と言つた。語り手は自分は直接見聞したのではないが信頼してゐる人達からこの事件の話を聞いたのだと懸命に答へた。すると直ぐ眞剣な鬪争が起きた、その中途でハドソン博士は自分が第一次世界大戦に於ける暴虐行為を調査した或る李昌會に勧めて立つたが、凌辱行為の申立てが調査して眞實であつたものは改めて直少であつたと云ふ事を説明した。

結局の所、凌辱事件を打消した通信員の大多数は之を直接見聞に甚かないものと看做したのであつた。所謂凌辱話は南京の町をめぐつて勝手に流布され又新聞にも掲載されてをつたと言はねばならぬ。かゝる話を外國側の武力干涉を惹起する目的で反動者連が勝手に利用したのであつた上記の事があつてから数週間後に、私は事件當時南京に居つて凌辱の申立てを直接調べた米人女性から一通の手紙を受取つた。彼女が言ふのにそれはたつた一つその例があつて而もそれは未遂事件であつたと言つた。彼女の話によると三人の兵士がある家に入つた所が米國婦人が一人なりであるのを見て階上の一室に彼女を引つて行つた。けれども彼等は怯氣がついて目的を果さずに逃走したのだ。之が支那で新聞の仕事廿五

年以上もしてゐて、私の注意を惹いたその種の事件の内で唯一のもので
あつた。

杜月笙は赤禍から上海を救つた者と歎呼された。後間もなく佛蘭西本國
政府は佛羅界がかくも多年の間腐敗して居つてギヤング行爲が流行して
居つたのに憤慨して上海に海軍大將と重艦を派遣してギヤング行爲を一
掃した。その後杜月笙は立派な實業家且つ慈善家に成つたそして政府か
ら歎勵された。けれども彼は依然として青幫社及び一小便衣隊の支配を
續けて後日に備へた。

日本の大満洲奪取に伴つて盛んになつた排日行爲を抑壓せんと一九三二年
の始め日本人が上海に武力干渉をした時杜月笙の隊は日本人が占領して
居つた上海の虹口地區で戰闘を始めた車物の階上及屋上に燃れた場所か
ら射撃して日本の一一般人及び海軍の兵隊に慘禍を齎した。杜の便衣隊は
市の防衛を大いに助けたそして日本人が喜んで調停をいれて海軍を引揚
げた程日本人の干涉に高價な犠牲を拂はさせた。日本人が一九三七年に
中國本土で戰争を始めた時、杜月笙と彼の部下は最後のどたん場汽市を

防衛した後民軍と共に西部支那に引揚げて其處にとどまつた。

LINE 10.11.12.1....0 continue

上海の共産黨幹部後何ヶ月も経つて、共同租界の米國人の書局で「上海の市長さん」でとほつてゐた。スターリング。フェッセンデンから上海を中國共產黨と黨所屬のソビエト人等の手から「救ひ出す」と言ふ次のやうな話を聞かされた。私の知る限りではこの出来事の全貌は一瞬も記述となつて報道されてゐない、といふのは日本軍の占領後上海でフェッセンデンが死ぬまで「記事封止め」になつてゐたためである。

フェッセンデンの語るところによると、華民黨とロシヤの援助を受けてゐる中國共產黨との間の上海「戰爭」に紅月社を引張り込んだのにつけ、フランス租界當局に大半の責任があつた。外國人地區を統治する中國人地域における政府の權威が全く地に墜ちてゐた際、社はフランス租界で「成人」してゐるところからフランス側が社の援助を始めたのも尤もなことだ。フェッセンデンは更に語つた。

「ある日フランスの警察署長から電話で當地の方の博物について内密の
話がしたいから會ひに来て來れ、といふので、彼へられて居所に行つ
て見ると驚いたことには、そこは中國人の住宅で高い壁で囲んだ上に
正門の門には武装した兵たちが立つてゐる。

中に入ると待合室に案内されたが、入口の大廣間の両側には小銃や在
銃が立して並べてあるのに気が付かないわけにはいかなかつた。
やがて座かして一人のフランス人の役人と二人の中華人が入つて来た。
一人は紅月星で、も一人は通訳たつた。早速席にてとりがつた。
フランス人の警察署長の説明によると彼は紅と外國租界を共産黨の手
からどうして守らうかと相談してゐたのであつたといふのは江北の防
禦指揮官とその部隊の機兵は、江北人から取つてゐたところの地方政
府が瓦解してしまつたからだとのことであつた。社は軍事的に軍艦に
備れた。共産黨には對抗するつもりだが條件が二つある。一つは、フ
ランス當局からは、少くとも小銃五千と充分な彈薬を補給してもらひ
たいといつた。ついで社に私に用つて自分の軍用トラックが共產租
界

を行ひするのを許可してほしいと云つたが、そんなことは租界當局として、今まで中國當局に許したことがないことだつた。社の責任は、中國人街の一地區から他の地區へ武器や宣傳品を運ぶに必要なからと言ふのだ。」

フェッセンデンは、市會が宣傳しさへすれば、申出に應ずると、社に答へたといふ。フェッセンデンの話によく。

私は社のやうな今冬の言い勇と暴を許はうといふ一かばちかの責めをしてゐるのだと悟つたのだが、もう葛麻はきはどい所できてゐた、といふのは、共同租界とフランス租界を奪取しようといふ共産黨の企てけ必ずや戻い範囲に亘つて混亂と流血の慘を見るために遠ひをいしこれに上級の外國行政地區居住の何萬もの中國人ばかりか、数千の米、英者の他外國人の生命に及ぶことだつた。共産黨が外國人地區を占領して國民軍に參して彼へようと計画してゐた以上同地區の外國人は兩軍戦争の間に決まることになり、その結果は殆んど一世紀前の租界設定以来まだかつて見ない程の容易ならぬ國際紛糾をもつたこと

であらう。約三週間かゝつて社は自分の仕事を仕遂げたが、その頃には、外國人地区の秩序を維持するため外國の軍隊が到着したし又蒋介石もやつてきて中國人地区を管理した。蔣介石將軍は早速國民軍が南京で起つたやうな外國人襲撃の意向を持たないことを聲明し、又、南京暴虐事件の犯人等を處罰すると發表した。

多くのアーティカリに於ける職業的な中國共産黨批評者は殆んど今迄、上海廣東、その他のに於ける「アーティスト及び資本主義者」による中國労働者、學生の「虐殺」について頻々しい記事を書いてゐる。彼等は所謂労働者及び學生が何々ニ一に於てか或は中國に於けるロシヤの手先によつて革命の方法やテクニクの訓練をうけ、又中國で活動中の第三インダストリアルの手先から武器の供給を受けたさいふ最も重要な経緯を曲解したり、書き洩らしてゐる。共産黨がその政治的目的完遂の手段として暴力主義を固執する限り、共産黨の反對者が共産黨に對抗する上に同様な手段を採つても才を貢献するに付合ふ筈はないのである。

Rejected

Rejected

Excerpts from
Prosecution Witness JOHN B. POWELL's Book
"MY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN CHINA."

(New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945)

China and USSR at War

Pages 175 and 176

The Far Eastern Soviet army invaded Chinese territory for about 200 miles at each end of the Chinese Eastern Railway and also bombed and occupied most of the Chinese towns along the border. But the Russians did not press beyond the Hing-han Mountains, due, it was reported, to a warning from the Japanese not to advance into their sphere of influence.

I heard one gruesome story of this warfare from a White Russian woman and a boy who ultimately reached Harbin. They had belonged to a White Russian community of several hundred families, located in the so-called Three Rivers District on the Argun River of North Manchuria. This area had been developed by Russian Cossacks, who had emigrated with their families across the border, following the revolution in 1917. The land they occupied was rich and suitable for farming and cattle grazing, and the colony prospered through the sale of dairy supplies to the large Chinese cities. The Soviet authorities in Siberia resented the activities of the White Russians just across their border and, after fighting broke out, charged that the White Russians with Chinese "Fascist" help were attempting an invasion of Siberia.

Fearing for the safety of their families, the White Russians sent their wives and children and all elderly males across country in a long wagon train to the railway at the town of Hailar, about 500 miles west of Harbin. The caravan, accompanied by a Russian Orthodox priest, had reached a point about fifty miles north of the railway when it was attacked by a force of Red Mongolian cavalry, allegedly led by Red army officers.

The woman and boy to whom I talked and who claimed to be the only survivors of this caravan, having escaped into the forest, told me that the Mongols had slaughtered every other member of the caravan. They then built a vast funeral pyre of the wagons and their contents, consisting of firkins of butter and large fifty-pound cheeses. Upon this pyre they piled the bodies of their victims, with that of the priest at the apex. They ignited the pyre and, yelling and shooting their rifles, rode their ponies in a wide circle about it as it burned. I could picture the troops of Genghis Khan in a similar victory celebration seven centuries ago.

After about six months of fighting, mostly of the guerrilla variety, the Young Marshal was forced to capitulate and to restore the control of the railway to the Soviets, since General Chiang Kai-shek was unable to send him reinforcements. Later there was a peace conference in Moscow, but it broke up without reaching an agreement, and the major issues between the two countries remain unsettled to this writing.

Rejected

Def. Doc. 202 K 2

辯護側書類二〇二一K一二

検事側證人ジョンビーバウエル著「吾在支二十五年」より抜萃

(ニューヨーク、マクミラン書店、一九四五年)

戦争中の支那とロシヤ

一七五頁及一七六頁

ロシヤの極東は東支鐵道の兩端に於て二百哩に亘つて支那の領土に侵人し、國境に沿ふ、大部分の都市を爆破したり占領したりした。然しながらロシヤ人は^{正義の者}山脈をこえて進撃してはこなかつた。傳へられる所に依ると、日本がその勢力圏内に進入しない様に警告を發したのに依ると云ふ。

私は、最後にハルビンに到着した白系露人の女と少年からこの戦争に關する怖しい話を耳にした。彼等は數百家族から成る白系ロシヤ人の部落に屬してゐた、その部落は北滿の^{ムン}河に沿つた、三河地帶^{ミコト}と呼ばれてゐる所にあつた。

この地方は一九一七年の革命後國境をこえて家族を伴つて移住して來たロシヤコサツク人に依つて開墾されて來たのであつた。彼等の占めてゐ

た地は鹽鐵で農耕や放牧に適しその部落は貉羣品を支那の大都會に賣ることに依つて繁昌した。シベリヤのソ聯當局はすぐ國境の向ひ側の白系ロシヤ人の活動を憤り、戰ひが始まると、白系ロシヤ人は支那の「ファツシスト」の支援をえてシベリヤ侵略を企てゝゐるといつて非難した。

白系ロシヤ人は彼等の家族の安全を危惧して、妻や子供や年とつた者を長い列車にのせてハルビン西方五百哩のハイラルの鐵道へ向けて行つた。旅隊がコシヤ正教會の僧と共に鐵道北方五十哩の地點に達した時、彼等の言ふ所では赤軍將領の指揮する赤色蒙古騎兵の襲撃をうけた。私が暫しをし、そして、森の中へ逃げ込んだために、その旅隊の唯一の生存者となつたといふ、その女と少年は、蒙古人は旅隊の他のすべての者を虐殺したと考つた。彼等は車と、幾つかの小車のバターや大きい五〇ボンドのチーズ等の積荷で火葬堆を作りその上に犠牲者の死体をつみ重ねた。信の死体は一番上にのせた。彼等は火葬堆に火をつけそれがもえてゐる間わめきつつ小銃を撃ちながら小馬に乗つて大きい圓をえがいてその周りを走つた。

私は七世紀前の勝利祝賀の時のデングスカンの冒頭をまささと見る事が出来た。

六月の殴ひの後——大部分はゲリラ戦でやつたが——「苦い元帥」は約を定めて降伏し、彼の東西軍をロシヤに返さねばならなくをつた。といふのは、蔵介石元帥が殺害を免れなかつたからであつた。然にモスクゴードの城が奪かれたが、意見の一派を見ず終つた。そしてこの苦い争奪は、左の兩軍の大きな問題は未解決のまゝなのである。

RJ
Excerpts from
Prosecution Witness JOHN B. POWELL's Book
"MY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN CHINA"

(New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945)

Russia, China, and Japan

Pages 194 and 195

The disclosures concerning the proposed agreement were contained in a manuscript written by Thomas F. F. Millard and entitled "The Watch on the Pacific," but never published. Mr. Millard was present at the Genova meeting as an adviser to the Chinese delegation to the League of Nations.

The fact that, as stated above, Russia and China--particularly Russia--were willing, in 1932, to join with the United States in a tripartite pact to block Japan is of tremendous interest in World War II, because of Russia's position of neutrality in the first four years of the war in the Pacific, involving Russia's partners, the United States, Britain, and China. That Russia's neutrality constituted America's most serious handicap in our war with Japan is generally recognized. The Soviet Government, in April, 1945, served notice on Japan of its intention to abrogate the neutrality treaty upon its expiration in April, 1946.

According to Mr. Millard's disclosures, the purpose of the proposed agreement, as stated in the preamble, was "to preserve peace in the Far East and establish and maintain political and economic stability in the Far East and the Western Pacific." The text provided that if any of the territorial possessions of America, Russia, or China, or their commercial and property rights within the region covered by the agreement or the political rights and safety of their citizens residing in these regions, were invaded or encroached upon by any Power outside of the agreement, the signatory Powers would consult about measures to be taken to preserve the status quo.

In addition to the main agreement providing for common action in the Far East and the Western Pacific, provision was made for three supplementary agreements to come into effect automatically in the event of an outbreak of war with Japan. The first of these, between the United States and Russia, provided that each should respect the existing territory of the other, and that of China as well, unless otherwise agreed upon with China's consent. Upon the satisfactory conclusion of the war certain readjustments of territories held by Japan were to be made. The southern half of Sakhalin Island was to be returned to Russia. An equitable readjustment of Russia's railway interests in Manchuria was to be made. The islands in the Pacific mandated to Japan at the Versailles Conference were to be at the disposition of the United States Government. Any arrangements in regard to the Philippines agreed upon by the United States and the Philippines Government were to be respected. And finally, the territory of Japan proper was to remain intact, provided Japan agreed to a satisfactory limitation of her naval power.

Pages 195 and 196

In the proposed agreement between the United States and China, each country was to respect the territorial and political independence of the other. The United States would support China in abolishing special privileges and concessions within her borders as well as all agreements with Japan which impaired or infringed on China's sovereignty. The United States would supply China with military and naval advisers to assist in organizing China's military forces, and would supply aviaic and other military exports together with munitions, supplies, and the financial assistance necessary to prosecute the war against Japan. China would agree to cooperate in all ways, including the use of China's ports for United States naval bases. She would also respect in the peace terms the territorial allocations agreed upon in the pact between the United States and Russia.

China and Russia would come to an equitable agreement between themselves on all matters in which the United States was not directly interested, but such agreements were not to qualify or contradict the terms of the United States pacts with Russia and China.

A memorandum embodying the proposed U.S.-Russia-China pact which was submitted to the State, War, and Navy departments expressed the opinion that the agreement would checkmate any schemes of the Japanese military party to conquer China or take Russian territory in the Far East. It was thought that the Japanese militarists would scarcely dare to challenge such a combination.

The reason the British Government was not included in the tentative agreement was two-fold. First, it was not thought at that time that Japan's program included an invasion of the Southwest Pacific, where Britain's colonial sphere existed; and secondly, Great Britain, when approached, raised objections to certain phases of the proposed pact which she thought might adversely affect certain efforts on her part to bring pressure on Japan through the League of Nations, which had the Manchurian question under consideration at the time.

One of the Soviet delegates at Geneva also proposed that China should recognize Russian sovereignty in Outer Mongolia and cede to Russia all Manchurian territory north of the Chinese Eastern Railway. This would give the Russians a short cut to the sea at Vladivostok and would permit Russia to develop nearby Poset Bay at the junction of eastern Siberia, Manchuria and Korea, which is free from ice in winter. The section of North Manchuria referred to, sparsely populated except by Russian emigrants, had always been regarded as a Russian sphere of influence in Manchuria.

检察医監人 ジヨン・ビー・パウエル著

「余ノ在支二十五年」より抜萃

(経済、マクミリアン書社、昭和二十年版)

露西亞、中國と日本

一九四、一九五頁より抄出

「太平洋の監視」と題するトマス・エフ・ミラードの著述の原稿の中になつた効約案に關する眞相暴露は遂に因襲せられなかつた。ミラード氏は國際聯盟中國代表の顧問としてゼネバ會議に出席して居つた。上述の如く、露西亞と支那一一一特に露西亞一一一が昭和七年日本を訪問する三ヶ國條約に欣然合衆國と共に参加せんとして居たといふ事實は露西亞の眞相、北米合衆國、英國及支那を驚き込んだ太平洋戰爭の最初の四年間、露西亞が中立であつたといふ點から見て第二次世界大戰史上誠に興味津々たるものがある。露西亞の中立が我が對日戰爭に於てアメリカにとり最も重大なるハンディキャップであつたといふことは一般に

認めらるるところである。ソヴィエート政府は昭和二十年四月、日本に兩國間の中立條約が昭和二十一年四月満了の後は之を廢止する意図なる旨通牒を送達した。ミラード氏の發表に依れば、冒頭に述べた協約案の目的なるものは「極東に於て平和を保持し、極東並に西部太平洋に於る政治安寧に經濟の安定を樹立且維持する」にあつた。原文は若しアメリカ露國並又は中國の領土の何れか若くは協約に依り協定せられたる地域内の商權又は財產權が、或は又政治上の權利及該地域内に居住する市民の安全が、協約外の一國より侵入又は侵害せられたならば、調印國は現狀を維持する爲めに採るべき手段を協議するといふことを規定してゐた。極東並に西部太平洋に於る共通行動を規定する主協約の外に、日本と戰争が勃發した場合自動的に效力を生ずべき三種の補助協約が規定せられた。其の第一は米露に於るものであつて各自相手方の領土を尊重すべきこと、規定して居る。中國の領土に就ても中國の同意を以て反對の取扱なき限り同意であつた。戰争が與國側の勝利に終つた場合は日本の保有して居た領土に既往の調達が加へらるゝ旨であつた。

樟太島の南半分は露西亞に返還せられる筈であつた。露西亞の滿洲に於る鐵道権益に就ても公正なる調整がせらるゝ筈であつた。エルサイユ會議に於て日本に委託せられた太平洋諸島は合衆國政府の處分に委ねる筈であつた。合衆國と比律賓政府との間に約束せられた比律賓に關する取扱いは如何なるものも尊重せらるゝ筈であつた。最後に日本の本土は若し日本が其の海軍力を美國の量より削減するならばそつくりそのまま手をつけずの如く答であつた。

一九五一一九六頁より

合衆國と中國との協約案には兩國は夫々相手國の領土並に政治上の自主を尊重することになつて居た。合衆國は中國國境内の特權及租界並びに中國の宗主權を毀損し侵害する日本との協約廢止を支持する。合衆國は中國に其の兵備編制を授くる爲の陸海軍の顧問を給與し、又日本との戦争遂行に必要な軍需品、糧食並に財政的援助を與ふると共に空軍其他軍事専門家を供給する。中國は其の港灣を合衆國海軍基地として使用せしむる外あらゆる手段に於て之に協力することを承知する。中國は又合衆國と露西亞との協約に意見の一一致して居る講和條件中の領土分割案を尊重することになつて居た。

中國と露西亞とは合衆國が直接利害を有せざる事項の總てに就て兩國間に公正なる協約を締結する、然し乍ら其の協約は合衆國對露支條約の規定を制限し若くは之に抵觸するものであつてはならない。

米露支協約案を具体化する覺書が合衆國に回付せられた時、陸海軍省は本協約は日本の軍部が中國を征服せんとし又は極東に於る露西亞の

領土を取らんとする計畫を撲滅するであらうとの意見を發表した。日本の軍部と雖も此の聯合に對して挑戦するの意をしないだらうと考へられた。英國の政府が此の假協約に加はらなかつた理由は二つある。第一は其當時、日本の對露の中に、英國の植民地帶の存する東西太平洋の浸略まで入つて居やうとは考へられなかつたこと、第二は、英國が申団を交けた時、其當時滿洲問題を考慮に入れて國際聯盟に依る日本の壓迫は英國側の或縁の努力に反対の結果を將來するだらうとの懸念から協約案の或る方面に反対したことである。

ジユホーブ院在ソヴィエート代表の一人は又中國は外蒙古に於る露西亞の宗主權を認め東支鐵道以北の全滿洲領を露西亞に割譲すべきであると提案した。之は露西亞人に浦羅斯德に於て接する海への近道を與ふるものであり又露國をして冬季不凍の東部西比利亞、滿洲、朝鮮の接觸點たるボセット灣附近の開發せしむることを得せしむるものである。上記北滿地區は露西亞移民の外は人口稀薄にして常に滿洲に於る露西亞の勢力圏として認められ來つた土地である。』

Excerpts from
Prosecution Witness JOHN B. POWELL's Book
"MY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN CHINA"

(New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945)

Vladivostok

Pages 213 and 214

While in Vladivostok I listened to many accounts of ambitious development projects, one of which nearly caused complications with the Japanese. It also had its humorous elements.

This project was for the construction of a causeway or dam connecting northern Sakhalin Island with the mainland, just north of the mouth of the Amur River. The engineer claimed that the cold weather which prevailed along the coast of the Maritime Province of Siberia was due to a cold ocean current from the Sea of Okhotsk which flowed southward along the coast of the Maritime Province. He argued that this frigid current was responsible for the disagreeable climate which prevails along the southern Siberian coast, and that by damming the narrow strait between Sakhalin Island and the coast, the cold current would be diverted away from Siberia and would flow down along the east side of Japan. The effect of this, according to his analysis, would be to produce a warmer climate along the Siberian coast and at the same time to transform the Japanese islands, particularly the northern islands of Hokkaido and Honshu, into arctic territories which the Japanese population would find unendurable.

News of this novel Russian solution of the Japanese problem, which would congeal them wholesale, naturally reached Japan and created a tremendous commotion. It was only one of many such rumors which were constantly coming out of Siberia and circulating among the Japanese in exaggerated form. I often wondered if this was not an astute form of Russian psychological warfare.

Rejected

DEP DDC # 202-4-4

著者「中國在任二十五年」よりの抜
萃（ニユーヨーク マックミラン書店一九四五年版）

ウラジオストツク 二二三頁及二一四頁

ウラジオストツクに於て予は野心的發展に關し多くの説明を聽いたが、その計畫の一つは殆ど日本と紛争を惹起す可き底のものであつた。又此の計畫には馬鹿々々しいところもあつた。

此の計畫の目的とするところは、北韓太と無錫江口の眞北なるシベリア本土とを連結する渠道沿くは堤壠を建設することであつた。技術者の主張に依ると、シベリア沿海海岸にその底を造くする暴帝なる天條の原因は、沿海海岸を落下して流れるオホーツク海からの暴流であると。技術者の説に依ると、此の暴流がシベリア海岸にその底を深ふ不快な氣味が存するのであるが、韓太とシベリア海岸との間の狭い海峡を堵さき止めることで、暴流はシベリアを外れ、日本東岸に沿ひ南下して流れると。此の影響は技術者の研究に依ると、シベリア海岸の東側を温暖化すると同時に日本暖島、特に北緯度及本州の北部島嶼を北極地帶と化し日本人は住居に堪えなくなるであらうと。

日本人をぞつとさせる様な新奇なロミアの問題解決に驟する報道は、
自然に日本でも傳り、恐る可き歎濶を惹き起した。之は教ある暁の中の
吾人の一例に過ぎないのであつて、斯る暁は迄えずシベリアをその發源
地として日本人の間に誇張されて云つてゐたものである。予は之はロシ
アの紹介の巧妙なる一方式ではないかと疑問に思ふことが度々あつた。

Excerpts from
Prosecution Witness JOHN B. POWELL's Book
"MY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN CHINA"

(New York, MacMillan Company, 1945)

Moscow in 1935

Page 232

Members of the correspondents corps in Moscow were astonished to learn that I had traveled to Moscow by way of Vladivostok and the Trans-Siberian Railway, as for several years none of them had been permitted to travel in the Ural area or Siberia. The cause for this seemed to me obvious. The Soviet authorities did not want either of their potential enemies, Japan or Germany, to know the details of the industrialization program which was being pushed in these regions. Also, the Soviet authorities were unwilling to have foreigners observe the forced-labor program which was being used in the industrialization process. Most foreigners in Moscow were familiar with the forced labor which had been used in the construction of the White Sea canal, but they had little conception of the extent to which it was being used in the development of Siberia.

Ry
 紙本
 紙本
 (ニューヨーク、マクミラン社 一九三五年)
 一九三五年に於けるモスコウ

モスコウに於ける前蘇聯の者達は私がウラジオストック及びシベリヤ鐵道によつてモスコウ迄旅行した事を知つて全く驚いた。
 それといふのは數年前といふものは彼等の中でシベリヤのウラル地方に旅行を許されたものな誰もなかつたからであつた。
 その理由は私には分つてゐた。といふのはソ聯當局としては假想敵國たる日本、ドイツの如きの國にも此の地方で押し進められてゐる工業化計畫の詳しい内容を知らせてゐなかつたからである。そして又ソ聯當局はこの工業化實施過程に於て用ひられてゐる強制勞動計畫の實體を外國人に見られる事も喜ばなかつたからである。

給系測量人ジョンヨボーリルの著作「舊支二十五年」の抜萃
(ニュヨーク、マクミラン社 一九三五年)
一九三五年に於けるモスコ！

二三二頁

モスコーに於ける有志員團の者達は私がシラデオストック及びシベリヤ
鐵道によつてモスコー迄旅行した事を知つて全く驚いた。

それといふのは數年間、いふものに彼等の中でシベリヤのウラル地方

に旅行を許されたものな誰もなかつたからであつた。
その理由は私には分つてゐた。といふのはソ聯當局としては假想敵國
たる日本、ドイツの如きの國にも此の地方で押し進められてゐる工業
化計畫の詳しい内容を知らせておくなかつたからである。そして又ソ聯
當局はこの工業化實施過程に於て用ひられてゐる強制勞動計畫の實體
を外國人に見られる事も喜ばなかつたからである。

モスコーに於ける外國人は白海運河の建設に用ひられてゐる強制労働については大部分の者が熟知してゐたがシベリヤの開發にそれがどの程度迄使用せられてゐるかについては殆んど知らなかつた。

Rey
Excerpts from
Prosecution Witness JOHN B. POWELL's Book
"MY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN CHINA"

(New York, MacMillan Company, 1945)

Moscow in '35

Page 235

Unlike Japan, which had started its industrialization program by tackling light industry first, Russia began with the heavy industries and was building tractor plants, and machine plants, was developing iron, coal, and copper mines and building blast furnaces at the expense of all but the most essential consumption goods. Serious mistakes were being made, partly due to the fact that the Russians were sorely lacking in workers possessing mechanical skills.

九十二頁 辯護團書類 二〇二〇一三

検察側證人ボーエル、ジョン、B氏の著作（吾在支二十五年）
の抜萃

一ニューヨーク、マクミラン社 一九四五年

一九三五年に於けるモスコ

二三五頁

日本が工業化計畫を實施するにあたつて、先づ最初輕工業から着手したのとは異なり、ロシヤは最初から重工業に着手し、トラクター工場、機械工場を建設し鐵、石炭、銅の礦山を開發し、最も重要な消耗品を殆んど犠牲にして熔鑄爐を作つた。重大な誤算があつたといふのは、その一部はロシヤ人が機械の技術を有つた職工に全く缺如してゐたといふ事實に由るものである。

Excerpts from
Prosecution Witness JOHN B. POWELL's Book
"MY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN CHINA"

(New York, MacMillan Company, 1945)

The Philippines in '36

Page 247

I went to Manila in November of that year, planning to cover
two important events. One was the inauguration of General Douglas
MacArthur's program for the defense of the Philippines.



辯護側文書二〇二一P-1 九三頁

検事側證人 ジヨン、B、バウエル氏著

「在 支 二十五年」より抜萃

（ニューヨーク、マクミラン社 一九四五年刊）

一九三六年のフイリッピン

二四七頁

この年の十一月私は、二つの重大事件を報道する計画でマニラに赴いた。その一つさいふのはダグラス、マッカーサー大將の比島防備計画の開始であつた。



Excerpts from
Prosecution witness JOHN B. POWELL's Book
"MY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN CHINA"

(New York, MacMillan Company, 1945)

The Philippines in '36

Page 250

A small army of carpenters was working night and day putting up temporary barracks. General MacArthur explained his program, which called for the training of 40,000 native troops a year, extending over a ten-year period, providing an army of between 400,000 and 500,000 men by 1946, the year when independence for the islands would come into effect. The men were to receive five and a half months' training the first year, with briefer periods each year thereafter.

検察側證人ジョン・ビリー・バウエルの著書

「吾在支二十五年」より抜粋

x x x x x

(ニコラヨーク・マツクラミン著一九四五年)

一九三六年にかゝるヒリツビン

二五〇頁

大工の間が發役作業をして、假營會の設營中であつた。マツカーサー大將は彼の計畫を説明した。それに依る二年間に三万人の原住民部隊の訓練を要請し、十年の期間に亘り、同島の獨立が效力を發生すべき一九四六年迄に四十万乃至五十万の軍械を準備せんとするものである。その兵隊は第一年に於ては五ヶ月半、爾後は毎年それより短期間の訓練を受けることになつて居る。

rejected.
not used

Excerpts from
Prosecution Witness JOHN B. POWELL's Book
"MY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN CHINA"

(New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945)

The Sian Incident

Pages 258 and 259

Shanghai was seething with rumors concerning the welfare of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. The now Chinese-controlled China Press, in an attempt to make the best of a bad situation, expressed the hope that the mutiny of General Chang Hsueh-liang and the Communists at Sian would result in further consolidating national unity. The same sentiment was expressed by Dr. H. H. Yung, Minister of Finance, who temporarily succeeded Chiang Kai-shek as director of political affairs of the government. He declared in an interview that "those who unfurled the anti-Japanese banner as a pretext for shielding their own questionable political behavior would shortly realize the seriousness of the crisis which they had precipitated."

The Shanghai papers also published a brief dispatch from Tokyo which stressed the critical relations between Japan and the Soviet Union. The dispatch referred to the arrest of two Japanese editors, Katsuhei Zama and Hirokichi Otake, on a charge of turning over confidential documents concerning the situation in Inner Mongolia to a Russian named Boris Rodov, who was an attaché of the Soviet Embassy. The documents allegedly dealt with the activities of a certain Mongolian Prince Teh, who recently had gone over to the Japanese and had been appointed chairman of the new puppet Government which the Japanese army had set up in Inner Mongolia. Prince Teh, it appeared, also had connections in the Russian sphere in Outer Mongolia.

辯護側書證二〇二一〇二

検察側證人ジョンビー、バウエル著「吾在支廿五年」
中抜粹（紐育マクミラン會社一九四五年版）

西安事件

自二〇八頁至二三九頁

上海ハ蔣介石主席ノ安否ヲ氣遣フ風説テ全ク沸騰シテキル機デアツク。嘗
時支那人ノ渾營ニ怨テキタ該新聞ハコノ惡狀勢ノ挽回ヲ企圖セムガタメ次
ノ如ク詮評シタ「張學良將軍及ビ西安ニ於ケル共產黨員ノ反抗ハ恐ラク今
後國家統一ノ一層張馳ナ輒帶テ構成スルニ至ルデアロウ」ト。蔣介石ニ代
ツテ政務ノ臨時執行者トナツタ財政大臣ノ孔祥熙博士モ同様ノ意見ヲ洩シ
タ。彼ハ或ル會見ニ於テ次ノ如ク宣言シタ。

「反日ノ旗幟ニ隠レテ彼等自身ノ怪シゲナ政治的態度ヲ糊塗シテキタ者ハ
ヤガテ彼等自カラ招來シタ危機ノ重大性ヲ思ヒ知ルニ至ルデアロウ。」

上海ノ諸新聞ハマタ日蘇ノ關係逼迫ヲ強調シタ東京カラノ簡単ナ電報ヲ掲
ゲタ。

右電報ハ麻間勝平及び大竹廣吉ナル二人ノ日本人記者ガ蘇聯大使館外交官
補「ボーリス・ロードフ」ニ内蒙古ノ状勢ニ關スル秘密文書ヲ手交セシ既
ニ依テ逮捕セラレタルコトヲ報ジタ。該文書ハ明カニ最近日本ヲ訪レ日本
陸軍ガ駐屯シダ内蒙古ノ傀儡政府ノ主席ニ任命セラレタル蒙古王族徳王ノ
活動心胸並ハ心ノニアツク。
徳王ハ又外蒙古ニ於ケル蘇聯勢力下ノ地域トモ或關係ヲ有スルモノノ如ク
デアリタ。

Rejected

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Excerpts from
Prosecution Witness JOHN B. POWELL's Book
"MY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN CHINA"

(New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945)

The Sian Incident

Pages 259, 260, 261, 262, 263 and 264.

The Chinese communists had increased their army from about 25,000 in 1928 to approximately 100,000. Opposed to the communists were General Chang Hsueh-liang's army composed of some 130,000 former Manchurian troops and some 40,000 Shensi provincial troops under General Yang Hu-cheng. Both groups were underpaid and disgruntled, and an easy prey for communist propaganda.

In order to understand the position of the Chinese Communists from the standpoint of domestic Chinese politics, it is necessary to go back to 1927, when the Communists were expelled from the Kuomintang Party and the Government. Unlike the situation in other countries where civilian communist movements exist, the Red faction in China is not only a political party but also possesses a well equipped army.

When Chiang Kai-shek expelled the Communists from the party, overthrew the Soviet regime they had set up in Hankow, and broke off relations with the U.S.S.R., the Red forces withdrew into the inaccessible mountainous districts between Kiangsi and Fukien provinces, south of the Yangtze River. Other Red forces which had operated in the Canton districts and had tried (without success) to establish a Soviet Government at the port of Swatow, near Canton, had also withdrawn into the mountains between Kiangsi and Fukien provinces, where they joined the other groups.

The intention of the Communists to continue their defiance of the Central Government was indicated in interviews with various Chinese Red officials and their Soviet advisers, and with American sympathizers who had fled to Moscow after the overthrow of the Red regime at Hankow. Among those who attempted to paint an optimistic future for communism in China were Eugene Chen, former Foreign Minister at Hankow, and Michael Borodin, the former Soviet adviser at Hankow.

Pages 259, 260, 261, 262, 263 and 264.

But official Moscow had tired of the costly Chinese adventure, and furthermore, the U.S.S.R. could spare no military or naval forces in the Far East capable of dispatching relief to the Chinese Communists at their headquarters in the Kiangsi mountains. The Chinese Soviet regime was therefore forced to shift for itself, which it proceeded to do in characteristic fashion by issuing paper money, collecting taxes, and instituting a land-redistribution program among the farmers in Kiangsi Province, where extensive land holdings by the gentry had long been responsible for popular discontent among peasant farmers and villagers. I still have in my possession a silver dollar minted by the Chinese "Soviet Government" which contains the profile of Lenin on one side and the sickle and hammer on the other.

Throughout most of the period from 1928 to 1934, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his associates were occupied in consolidating the position of the Nanking Government and fighting off rival military factions.

The Red factions in Kiangsi thus had a breathing spell in which to reorganize their Soviet Government and re-establish connections with Moscow. But the land-redistribution program which the Communists initiated in Kiangsi precipitated a disastrous famine in Northern Kiangsi and led ultimately to their undoing. Strong opposition developed among the land-owning gentry of Central China and the Chinese bankers in Shanghai, whose loans were defaulted as a result of the socialization (confiscation) program. Generalissimo Chiang, whose Government was also under heavy obligations to the same bankers, was again forced to take action against the Chinese Reds. He finally accomplished their evacuation of the Kiangsi mountains by blockading the coast of Fukien Province, building a chain of block-houses on the land side which cut off their access to the Yangtze River, and air-bombing their mountain bases.

In mid-October, 1934, the Reds, now numbering approximately 90,000 men, quietly slipped out of their mountain hiding places and set out in search of a new location. Following the mountainous regions along the provincial boundaries in South and Southwest China, their trek developed into an epochal march of approximately 4,000 miles before they reached their new location in the northwest. They were able to make the long trip through generally hostile territory, by marching in small groups and sticking to the provincial boundaries. In this manner they passed through Kweichow and Yunnan provinces in the southwest, then turned north along the narrow mountain valleys of the Upper Yangtze to Szechwan Province, thence over the mountains to Kansu Province, and finally reached northern Shensi, where they re-established their Soviet Government at the town of Yenan, in territory adjacent to Russian-controlled Outer Mongolia. The Reds were led on their long migration by two

Pages 259, 260, 261, 262, 263 and 264.

well known Communist leaders, Chu Teh and Mao Tsehtung, both of whom had been trained in Moscow under Trotsky and Radek.

Another Red group under the command of General Ho Lung, which had been established in northern Hunan Province, also withdrew and joined the Red Government at Yenan. A third Red force, which styled itself the "anti-Japanese Fourth Army," and had established itself in the mountains of Anhwei Province on both banks of the Yangtze River, was broken up by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and part of it was incorporated into the Nanking forces.

The remnants withdrew to the northwest, but not before they had perpetrated one of the worst atrocities against American missionaries since the Nanking Incident in 1927. Two youthful missionaries, the Reverend and Mrs. John Stam, were seized with their two-weeks-old baby girl and were publicly beheaded. The Stams, both recent graduates of the Moody Bible Institute of Chicago, had only recently arrived in China and had been assigned to Anhwei Province. Mrs. Stam, while being led to the hill where execution took place, hastily wrapped her baby in a bundle of old rags and tossed it into a Chinese house along the route of march to the execution ground. The baby was cared for by friendly Chinese peasants and was later restored to its grandparents, the Reverend and Mrs. Charles Ernest Scott, veteran Presbyterian missionaries in Shantung Province.

The execution of the Reverend and Mrs. Stam was staged on a hill before a large crowd of country people and was accompanied by an outburst of posters, banners and oratory, with the bound victims standing by. The speeches and posters denounced the United States and world capitalism, and extolled the Soviet Union. After the helpless victims had been beheaded, the Reds responsible for the atrocity issued a bombastic statement declaring the execution of the young missionary couple had been carried out in retaliation for the action of an American company in selling to the Nanking Government airplanes which Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek had used in bombing the Reds out of their base in the mountains of Kiangsi.

It was estimated that not more than 25,000 out of the original Red Army numbering some 90,000 survived the long trek to northwest China. However, their strength was quickly replenished, despite the barren, mountainous, and thinly populated nature of the country to which they had migrated. By the winter of 1936-37 they again claimed to have 100,000 troops.

Pages 259, 260, 261, 262, 263 and 264.

Indications of impending trouble in the northwest had already appeared in the Shanghai newspapers in the form of dispatches from Sian telling of student parades and demonstrations demanding a cessation of pressure against the Chinese Communists and the formation of a "united front" against the Japanese. The Chinese Reds also utilized the services of an American woman leftist, who delivered speeches which were broadcast in both English and Chinese over the Communist radio stations. The Chinese Communists were desirous of diverting Japanese pressure from their own front and hoped that Chiang Kai-shek could be forced to bear the weight of the Japanese onslaught. In the background was undoubtedly also the hand of Moscow desirous of diverting Japanese pressure from Siberia and Russian-controlled Outer Mongolia. The Russians were anxious for Japan to become involved still more deeply in China, knowing full well that such involvement would ultimately lead to complications with the United States and Great Britain. Although disavowed in Moscow, evidence pointed to Russian influence as a vital factor in the Sian incident.

I first met Chang Hsueh-liang (who played the unheroic role of cat's-paw in the Sian Incident) at Mukden, in 1929 on the occasion of the brief war between China and the Soviet Union.

The Young Marshal was only thirty years old when he fell heir to his father's vast fortune and the position of commander-in-chief of the Government forces in Manchuria. He was ill prepared for this responsible post, the most precarious administrative position in the Chinese republic, as most of his life had been spent as a playboy in Mukden, the Manchurian capital, and at the old capital (Peking), or in his father's army. He spent one year in military school in Japan, and upon his return was appointed commander of one of the Manchurian armies. Somewhere along the line he acquired the opium and morphine habits, which remained with him for several years and greatly handicapped his career. He was finally cured by Dr. Miller, an American Seventh Day Adventist missionary physician at Shanghai.

Despite this, Chang Hsueh-liang was an ardent Nationalist and devoted a considerable portion of his fortune to the development of education in the Manchurian provinces. He endowed the National Northeastern University and the Manchurian Military Academy at Mukden, and was in process of developing a system of general education throughout Manchuria when the Japanese intervened in 1931. The Young Marshal had already defied the Japanese in 1928, when he unfurled the Nationalist flag over Government offices throughout Manchuria and announced that the Manchurian provinces had joined the Nationalist Government at Nanking. Again in 1929 he intervened at Peiping to break up a coalition of disgruntled militarists and politicians led by Wang Ching-wei which opposed General Chiang Kai-shek and the new Government at Nanking.

Ry

辯護圖文書二〇二、二、三

九八頁

検察側證人ジョン・B・バウエル氏著書「左史二十五年」より抜萃。

（經育マクミラン社出版、一九四〇年版）

西安事件（二五九、二六〇、二六一、二六二、二六三、二六四、二六五）

中國共産黨は一九二八年に恒兵力凡そ二萬五千であつたのが、約十萬に増強した。此の共産黨に對立したのは、前滿洲軍約十三萬より成る閩桂良將軍の軍隊と、楊虎城將軍麾下の陝西省軍約四萬であつた。兩軍共

給料支拂不充分で不平不滿のため、共産黨宣傳の好餉であつた。

國內政治情勢といふ點から中國共産黨の地位を理解するには、國民黨及南京政府から共産主義者が驅逐された、一九二七年に長る事が必要である。他側の單なる政治的共産主義運動の場合とは異り、中國の赤化分子は政黨たるのみならず、充分に武装された軍隊を持つて居る。

蔣介石が國民黨から共産黨員を驅逐し、共産黨員が漢口に設立した榮譽政府組織を潰滅しソ連との關係を絶つた時、共産軍は楊子江以南の江西福建兩省の間の、険阻な山嶺地方に撤退した。廣東地方で行動し、廣東

地方で行動し、廣東附近の廈頭港に勞農政府設立を試みた（之に失敗に終つたが）別の共産軍も、この江西福建兩省間の山峯に撤退し他の軍隊と合同した。

共産黨員の中央政府に対する反抗繼續の意志は、中國共產黨首腦やソ連人顧問との會見や、また、漢口赤色政府被滅後モスクワに逃れた米人支那人との會見の時、私に表示された。

中國民衆に於ける共產主義の將來を樂觀的にみた人達の中に、元漢口政府外相陳友仁、及び元漢口政府ソ連人顧問ミカエル・ミロディンが居た。

辯護団書類、二〇二一、一三、續き

九九頁

(一九二五九、二六〇、二六一、二六二、二六三、二六四、)

併しソ連政府は多額の費用を要することの中國に於ける策動に倦怠を覺えてゐたのみならず、江西省山中に立て篭つた中國共産黨の教導をなする陸軍又は海軍を、極東に派遣することはソ連政府にとつて、不可能であつた。この故に、中國共産黨政權は自力で邊境する外はなかつた。その邊境手段としては先づ特有の方法で紙幣發行、稅金取立、及び山西省居住農民土地再分配案制定を行つた。蓋し山西省では上中流社會による廣汎なる土地所有は長い間小百姓部落民等一般民衆の不平不満の根元をなしてゐたのである。私は今尙中國「ソビエット政府」の鑄造セル銀弗貨を一枚所有してゐるが、表面にはレニンの横顔、裏面は鎌鉈の浮彫である。

蔣介石總帥及びその一派は、千九百二十八年(昭和三年)より千九百三十四年(昭和九年)に至る期間の大部分を通じて、南京政府の地位強化と反對軍閥撲滅とに忙殺されてゐた。

これがために、山西省の共産黨は、一時的な榮裕を得て、自らのソビ

エット政府を樹立し、ソ連政府との連絡を再開した。

併し山西省に於て共産黨が着手した土地再分配策は、北山西省に悲惨甚しき飢餓を急促せしめ、これが引いては遂に黨自身の破滅にまで及んだ。中國中部の土地所有階級及び上海の中華銀行家の間に強烈な反対が起つた。これにこれ等銀行の貸付が社會主義化（沒收）の結果として踏み倒されたからである。蔣介石政府も又これ等銀行家に對して巨額の債務を負つてゐたので、彼は再び中國共産黨に對して行動を取らねばならなかつた。蔣介石は山西省山中から共産黨を完全に撤退せしめた。この手段としては福建省海岸を封鎖し、陸地方には一連の防塞を建造して共産黨軍の楊子江に接近する途を切斷し、敵軍の山地基地を空爆した。

一千九百三十四年（昭和九年）約九萬を算する赤軍が山中の隠れ場を密かに脱出し、新に居所を求めて進發した。

南支那西南支那の各省の境界に沿て山地を行くうち、彼等の路程は約四千哩といふ劇期的行進となり、遂に西北支那に彼等は新なる居所を見出した。彼等にとつて一般的に好意を持たぬこれらの地方を通り、遂に

長途の、旅行に成功したが、これは小集團とおつて、省境界線を離れぬ
ようにして行進したのである。斯くして彼等は西南支那の貴州省、雲南省
を通過し、揚子江上流の陝陘なる山渓に沿つて北轉し以て四川省に至
り、次で山脈を越えて甘肅省に入り、遂に北陝西省に達し、其の地の延安
府、即ちソ連支配下にある外蒙古に接近する地域に、ソビエット政府
の再興を遂げたのである。この中國共産黨員の長途の移動の先頭に立つ
たのは、モスコーにてトロツチキーとラデツクに訓練された、かの有
名な朱徳と毛澤東であつた。

辯護側文書二〇二一 一三續き

百頁

(二五九、二六〇、二六一、二六二、二六三、及二六四頁)

湖南省北部に落ち着いた賀龍指揮下の別の一共産黨團体も此處を去り、延安の赤軍政府に加はつた。「反日第四軍」と自稱し、安徽、楊子江兩岸の山中に陣取つた第三番目の赤軍は、蔣介石總帥に打破せられ、その一部は南京軍に合併した。

殘余の赤軍は西北方へ退去したが退去に先立ち彼等はアメリカ人宣教師達に對し一九二七年の南京事件以來の最惡の慘虐行爲を犯した。二名の若い宣教師ジョン、スタム氏夫妻を、その生後僅か二週間の女兒と共に捕へ、公衆の面前に於て首を斬つた。このスタム夫妻は最近、シカゴのムーディー聖書學院を卒業し斯くこの程中國に来て安徽に廻されたばかりであつた。スタム夫人は死刑執行の場所へひかれてゆく途中、その女兒をいそいでぼろ布で包み、自分達の進んでゆく道路沿ひのとある中國人の家へ投げ込んだ。

その子供は親切な中國農民の世話を受け、後日、祖父母に當る山東省の秀れた長老宣教師たるチャールズ。アーネスト。スコット氏夫妻に手渡された。

スタム氏夫妻の死刑は小高い丘の上で中國人群衆の目前で、大仰に取行はれた。先づ縛られた此犠牲者を傍に立たせビラを貼り、旗を打振り轡舌を掉つて大騒ぎをした後行はれた。演説やビラは合衆國及び世界等本主義を非難しソビエット聯邦を賞揚したものであつた。この寄るべき犠牲者達の首を斬殺した後此惨虐行為の責任者達は、大言壯語的聲明を發し、此若い宣教師夫妻の斬罪は見るアメリカの命社が南京政府に飛行機を賣つた行為に對する報復として爲したものであり、蔣介石總帥は之等の飛行機を借用して江西の山地にある赤軍共匪を撲滅し赤軍を追出したものであると述べた。

最初約九萬を数へた共産黨員中中國西北部への長途移住に掛けて生存したものは二万五千に過ぎないと概算されてゐる。しかしがら彼等移住した土地が不毛の地で山多く、人口稀薄なところであつたにも拘

らず彼等の力は急速に補充された。そして一九三六年から三七年へかけての冬には再び十萬の兵力を信すると公言するに至つたのである。

(一五九、一六〇、一六一、一六二、一六三、一六四頁)

上海の新聞は、中國共產黨の騒動を中止し、日本に對して「統一戰線」を張ることを要求する學生の行進その他の示威運動を報じた西安からの電報を易載して、西北部にまきに起らんとする動亂の前兆を既に表示してゐた。中國共產黨も亦、左翼の一アメリカ婦人の援助を利用し彼女の演説を共產黨の各地放送局を通じて、英語と中國語を以つて放送した。中國共產黨は日本の壓力を自己の前線から他に轉じ、蔣介石をして、日本の統製の矢面に立たせやうとした。背後には無論モスコウの手が動いて居り、ロシアもまたシベリア及びその勢力下の外蒙古から日本の壓力を外へ轉じることを欲してゐたのである。ロシアは、日本が中國との葛藤に一層深入りすることを望んでゐた。それは、この葛藤は遂には必ず英米を巻き込むに至ることを充分に承知してゐたからである。モスコウでは否定されてゐるが、ロシアの影響が西安事件の有力なる要因であつたことは、證明されてゐる。私は一九二九年、中國とソ聯との間に短期の戰争があつた時、奉天ではじめて（西安事件で眞れなお先棒に使はれた）張學良に會つた。

この若い將軍が、父親の莫大な財産と滿洲に於ける官軍の總司令官の位置とを繼承した時、彼は僅かに三十才であつた。

それまで、滿洲の首都奉天、舊國都北京或は父親の軍隊で「おばつちゃん」ともて大部分を過して來たので、彼はこの責任ある地位、即ち中華民國で一番不安定な行政的基盤に就く準備が出來てゐなかつた。

彼は一年間日本で軍事教育を受け、歸國して滿洲軍の一方の司令官となつた。この間にいつか彼は阿片與煙の風習に染み、數年間止めることが出来ず、これが彼の前途に對して非常な障礙になつた。然し遂に彼は、上海にゐたアメリカの第七回キリスト教再臨論派の宣教師である醫者のミラー博士に根治して貰つた。

併し、張學良は熱心な國民黨員であり、彼の財産の相當な額を滿洲諸國の教育事業につぎ込んだ。彼は奉天の國立東北大學及び滿洲軍管學校に基本金を寄附し、滿洲全体に亘る普通教育機構を組織しやうとしてゐた、その最中一九三一年日本が割り込んで來た。この若い將軍は既に一九二八年日本に挑戦して、國民黨旗を全滿洲の官廳にひるがへし、滿洲諸州は南京

の国民党政府に加盟したこと宣誓した。

また一九二九年、軍閥政治家中の不平分子が蔣介石の新南京政府に反対し
汪精衛の下に北京で提携を企てた時張學良は之を不成功に終らせた。

not used

Excerpts from
Prosecution Witness JOHN B. POWELL's Book
"MY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN CHINA".

(New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945)

The Sian Incident

Pages 264, 265, 266, 267, 268 and 269.

The Young Marshal was a patient in a Peiping hospital when the Japanese staged the so-called Manchurian "incident" and seized Mukden on the night of September 18, 1931, hence his troops in the vicinity of the Manchurian capital offered little resistance to the invaders on that fateful occasion. After serving in various posts under the Nanking Government, the Young Marshal was appointed director of the so-called "bandit-suppression" headquarters in southern Shensi Province, where his chief job was to watch over the activities of the Chinese Communists, who were again becoming troublesome in the northwest. The Young Marshal had a force of 130,000 troops, made up largely of remnants of defeated Manchurian armies. There were also collected at his headquarters several hundred students and teachers who had been forced to leave Manchuria, due to the wholesale closing of the schools by the Japanese. Since most of his fortune was invested in Manchurian lands, forests, and mines which had been seized by the Japanese army, the Young Marshal soon found himself in straitened circumstances and forced to depend upon the Nanking Government for funds. The result was that his troops were poorly paid and his schools and governmental departments impoverished.

It had been known for several months that instead of opposing the Reds, the Young Marshal's forces were fraternizing with them and permitting them to spread anti-Nanking propaganda among the people in his territory. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek had consistently opposed a policy of conciliation toward the Chinese Communists since the original break between the Kuomintang and the Reds at Shanghai, Nan-kang, and Hankow in 1927. The Generalissimo regarded the Chinese Reds as creatures of the Moscow Comintern and refused to negotiate with them so long as they maintained their Russian connections and their independent position in the northwest. It was thought that the Generalissimo intended to dismiss the Young Marshal as commander of the anti-Communist headquarters at Sian, and to replace him with another member of his staff who would continue opposition to the Reds. Three days before the departure of the Generalissimo for Sian, the Nanking Executive Yuan (Council) had adopted a resolution reaffirming that the Chinese foreign policy laid down by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek should remain as the guiding principle of the Central Government and that the anti-Communist campaign in Northwest China should be continued. Generalissimo Chiang was accompanied on the trip to Sian by ten other high government officials, some of them army commanders,

Pages 264, 265, 266, 267, 268 and 269.

and a small bodyguard. Among the military officers was General Chiang Ting-wen, Pacification Commissioner for Fukien Province, who was scheduled to replace the Young Marshal as commander of the anti-Red forces in the northwest.

The northwestern frontier town of Sian where the dramatic kidnaping of the Generalissimo and his staff was staged is about seven hundred miles inland, due west from the shores of the Yellow Sea. Aside from its strategic location on the ancient northwest road connecting China and Central Asia, Sian is important historically as it was the seat of the Chou Dynasty, which had its beginnings about 1122 B.C. and continued more than eight centuries. The classical period of Chinese history, which produced the famous scholars Confucius, Mencius, Lao Tzu, and Mo Tzu, fell within the Chou era, and many of the world's finest examples of ancient bronze art have come down to us from the graves of Chou rulers in the vicinity of Sian. In this area also were staged the wars between the houses of Chou and Shang (1400 B.C.) for supremacy over the valleys of the Yellow River and its tributary, the Wei, wherein dwelt the ancestors of the Chinese people of today.

It was a fitting stage for the enactment of a modern drama of Asiatic politics involving the political interests of China, Japan, and Russia, and ultimately of the entire world.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek arrived at Sian by airplane on December 7, and established his headquarters at a hot-springs resort a short distance outside the city. The Generalissimo was welcomed by Shao Li-tze, Civil Governor of Shensi, a former newspaper editor from Shanghai, who had been appointed to the position by the Central Government. Civil Governor Shao had charge of the local police force, which remained loyal to the Generalissimo in the complicated developments of the following days. It was the first important political mission undertaken by the Generalissimo in many months when he was not accompanied by his wife, Mei-ling.

The days immediately following the Generalissimo's arrival at Sian were occupied in conferences between the Generalissimo and his staff and the Young Marshal, Chang Hsueh-liang, and General Yang Hu-cheng, the provincial military chieftain. Little was accomplished, as the Young Marshal and General Yang constantly insisted on bringing into the conference local groups which demanded immediate war against Japan. After four days of futile conversation the Generalissimo informed the Young Marshal of the Government's determination to press the campaign against the Communists. He insisted that it would be suicidal to face war with Japan while the Communist army remained in an independent position in the northwest.

Pages 264, 265, 266, 267, 268 and 269.

The Young Marshal and his associate, General Yang, insisted that it would be better to accept the Reds' terms and form a "united front" of national resistance.

The Young Marshal insisted that the Central Government assume responsibility for the financial support and munitioning of some 270,000 troops in the northwestern territories. He was not, however, in a position to give assurances that the "united front" would accept the orders of the commander-in-chief of the Nationalist Government. This may explain why the Young Marshal had decided to bring the representatives of the Communists into the negotiations with the Generalissimo.

Following a heated discussion which left the situation at a deadlock, the Generalissimo retired to his private quarters on the outskirts of the city, where he was protected by his small bodyguard and a contingent of local police.

The Young Marshal immediately called a meeting of the divisional commanders of his forces and those of General Yang Hu-cheng, and issued secret orders to move a division of his own troops and a regiment of General Yang's troops into the environs of the city during the night, and by daylight the coup d'etat was complete and the city entirely surrounded. The only resistance encountered was from the Generalissimo's small bodyguard and a contingent of loyal police at the hot-springs resort where the Generalissimo was staying. Aroused by the firing, the Generalissimo and one of his guards escaped from his sleeping quarters and climbed over a high wall which surrounded the compound. He might have succeeded in getting away had he not sprained his ankle and been forced to hide in an abandoned tomb. Here he was found by a young Manchurian officer, who escorted him back to the building and ultimately to the city, where he was confined in the private quarters of General Yang Hu-cheng. The Civil Governor, Shao Li-tze, who with his police remained loyal to the Generalissimo, was also arrested and detained with Generalissimo Chiang's staff officers.

The announcement of the detention of the Generalissimo created intense excitement throughout the city and was the signal for demonstrations, mass meetings, and parades. The city was quickly plastered with banners and posters denouncing the Japanese-German-Italian Anti-Comintern Pact and demanding a "united front" against Japan. The radicals were for a Soviet-style public trial of the Generalissimo on the charge of prosecuting the war against the Reds and failing to declare war on Japan. Others favored taking the Generalissimo to some secret hiding place in the northwest and holding him as a hostage until Nanking called off the anti-Red war.

Pages 264, 265, 266, 267, 268 and 269.

Up to this point there was no outward manifestation of Red participation in the plot to kidnap the Generalissimo. But the hand of the Chinese Communists was soon in evidence after the Young Marshal dispatched a plane to the Communist headquarters at Yenan and transported three of the Red leaders to Sian. They were Chou En-lai, Political Commissar of the First Front Red Army and Deputy Chairman of the Red Military Council; Yeh Chien-ying, chief of staff of the East Front Red Army; and Pao Ku, head of the Red Secret Police. They were accompanied by several secretaries and assistants. Of the three Communist envoys, Chou En-lai was remembered as the organizer of armed laborers, strikers and pickets in the plot to seize Shanghai on behalf of the Communists at the time of the Nationalist Revolution in 1927. Chou was arrested by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek but was released, whereupon he went to Moscow for several months, later returning to join the Red regime in Northern Shensi.

Not many hours elapsed before the perpetrators of the Sian outrage realized the seriousness of their action. Of particular significance were simultaneous disavowals from Moscow and Tokyo, each denying any complicity in the plot, but at the same time charging each other with the responsibility. The Moscow papers printed bombastic reports denouncing the kidnaping of the Generalissimo as the work of Wang Ching-wei and the Japanese. Government officials in Tokyo charged that Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang's action had been inspired by the Communists, and declared it was an "object lesson" demonstrating the necessity of China's joining the Anti-Comintern Pact immediately.

The Tokyo paper, Hochi, declared that communist propaganda for a "united front" was the same, whether in Spain or China, and threatened that Japan would take action if Chang Hsueh-liang attempted to form an anti-Japanese front with Soviet Russia. The liberal Chinese paper, Ta Kung Pao, charged that the Japanese had taken advantage of the Sian crisis to increase their pressure on China to sign the anti-communist defense agreement. The Tokyo Nichi-Nichi declared that the Chinese Communist Army of Ch'u Teh and Mao Tseh-tung was steadily gaining in strength and was watching for an opportunity to seize the central power in China.

檢事側證人 ジヨン。B。バウエル著

「わが中國に於ける廿五年」より抜萃

(一千九百四十五年 ニューヨーク、マックミラン社刊)

西 安 事 件

二六四、二六五、二六六、二六七、二六八、二六九頁

日本側が所謂滿洲「事變」をたぐらんで一九三一年九月十八日夜半奉天を占領した當時張學良元帥は北平の或る病院に入院してゐた。そのために宿命的なその當夜、張學良の軍隊はこの滿洲の首都奉天附近に於いて侵略軍に對し殆んど抵抗を加へなかつた。南京政府の下に在つて種々の地位を歴任した後、張學良は所謂陝西省南部に在る剿匪司令部の長に任命された。西北地方で再び手に負へなくなつてきた中國共產黨の活動を監視するのが張學良の主な役目であつた。張學良には十三万の軍隊が

ありその大部分は敗残滿洲軍の殘黨であつて、その他張の司令部には日本側が全面的に學校を閉鎖したため余儀なく滿洲を後にした數百の學生や教師も集められてゐた。その財産の大部分を滿洲の土地、森林、鐵山に投資してゐたのが日本軍に押えられたので、早速張學良は困窮し資金を南京政府に依存する破目になつた。その結果張の軍隊の俸給も薄給となり其の學校や行政諸部門も窮迫した。

井陥黨に對抗するかはりに張學良の軍隊は井陥黨を提擧し、張の領土内においては南京反對の宣傳をひろめるのをさへ許してゐるといふことは已に數ヶ月前から知れてゐた。一九二七年に上海、南京、漢口で國民井陥黨がはじめて分裂した時以來蒋介石大元帥は終始中井陥黨を調停するといふ政策に反対してゐた。蒋介石は中井をモスクウのコミニテルンの手先であるとして、ロシヤとの關係を絶たず而も西北地方において獨立の地位を保つてゐる限りは井陥黨との交渉を拒絶した。蔣元帥が張學良を西安の反井司令部指揮官の地位から解説して井陥黨に

對する抵抗を繼續すべき他の幕僚をこれに代へる謀志があると考へられてゐた。

蔣介石元帥が西安に向けて出發する三日前に南京政府行政院は、蔣元帥の樹立した中國の對外政策が依然として閩政府の指導原理たるべく、又、中國西北地方における反共運動は繼續されるべきであることを再び肯定する決議案を採擇した。西安への旅行には蔣介石は數人の軍司令官を含む十人の政府高官、小數の護衛兵を同伴した。この將校の中には、福建省（時閩）綏靖主任蔣鼎文も交つてゐたが張學良に代つて西北反共軍司令官に就任することになつてゐた。

蔣介石はその幕僚を誘拐する劇的事件が行はれた西北國境地方の都市である西安は、黃海の海岸から直ぐ西約七百哩の奥地である。中國は中央アジアを経ぶ古來の西北路に在るといふ戰略的位置の他に、西安は紀元前一二二年頃に起つて八百年以上續いた周王朝の所在地として歴史的にも重要である。孔子、孟子、老子、墨子は有名な學者を輩出した中國史における

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る古典時代もこの周の時代に當つてをり、又世界で最もすばらしい古代青銅藝術の數多い見本は西安附近に在る周の王侯たちの墓から出たものである。さらに又、この地方で周^シ商（西紀前一四〇〇）の兩王室の間に戰争がくりかへされ黃河の峽谷^シ、今日の中國人の先祖の居住地である進貢國衛の支配權をめぐつて争つたのである。

この土地こそは中國、日本、ロシアつまりは全世界の政治的利害を絡むアジアの政治牽引^シといふ一つの近代劇を演ずるにはお詫へ向^シの舞臺であつた。

蔣介石元帥は十二月七日飛行機で西安に着くと、同市に程近い溫泉場に本部を構へた。陝西省民政廳長邵力子は元帥を歓迎した。邵は元上海の新聞編輯長だつたが、中央政府の任命で廳長の職に就いたものだ。邵廳長は同地方の警察力を握つてゐたがこの警察はその後

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複雑な事件が展開された期間も依然として蔣介石に忠誠を守つたのである。蔣元帥は何ヶ月も宋美齡夫人を同伴しなかつたのであるがその間で、これがその第一の重要な政治的使命であつた。

蒋介石元帥到着後の數日は、蔣元帥、幕僚、青年元帥張學良、西安綏靖主任、湯虎城との間の會談で會された。張學良元帥と湯將軍とが即刻日本を伐てとする。地方諸派をこの會談に沿じ入れようど絶えず主張したため成程は殆んど擧らなかつた。

無益な會談を重ねること四日、蒋介石は共産黨に對する組織的運動の火蓋を切る旨の政府の決定を張學良に傳へ、共産軍が西北に在つて獨立の地位を保つてゐる限り日本と戰ひを交へることは自殺にひとしいと說いたが、張學良とその協力者湯虎城は、中共の條件を受諾して國民の抗戰力の「統一戰線」を形成した方が良いと主張した。

張學良元帥は西北領域の二七萬の軍隊に對する財政的援助と軍需品の供給の責任は中央政府が負ふものであると力説した。併し張學良は自分の地位からして、この「統一戰線」が國民黨政府の總司令官の命令を受けるといふことには保證を與へるわけには行かなかつた。張學良元帥が蔣介石との交渉に中共代表を引き入れようと決意した理由はこれによつて明瞭にならう。

討敵燒燬の舉句つひに行詰りの状態のまゝ、蒋介石は西安市郊外の個

人宿舎を引籠り、ここで少數の護衛兵と地方警察の分遣隊に守られてゐた。

張學良は直ちに自分の部隊と楊虎城麾下の軍隊の帥團長から成る會議をひらき、自分の軍隊から一帥團と楊將軍の方から一聯隊をその夜の中に市街の周囲に出動さすべき旨の秘密命令を發した。明方までにはクーデ！タ一は成り市街は完全に包囲された。抵抗は只一度蒋の滯在する溫泉場で蔣元帥の小隊の護衛兵と地方警察分遣隊から受けただけであつた砲撃に起され、蔣介石は護衛兵の一人と宿舎を脱げ邸を園んである高い塔をよちの腰にさ。尼首を挫いて止むなく荒れた裏場に身をひそめるやうなことたり。まづからうよく成功してゐたかもしれない。こゝで漸州軍の青年將校に発見され、邸内へ更に市内へと譲送され、楊虎城を取る私部は監禁された。民政廳長邵力子はなぜ警察を率ゐて蔣介石に忠誠を守つてゐたが、同僚に捕へられて蔣介石の參謀たちと共に監禁を受けた。

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蒋介石元帥の監禁が公表されると全市に非常な動搖を興へ、これがデモや大衆の集合や示威行進の導火線となつた。市街には忽ちのうちに、日獨伊防共協定を彈劾して日本に對する「統一戰線」を要求する旗や貼紙が出るかと思ふと急進派の連中は蔣介石を中共と戰争をして日本に宣戰しなかつた廢でソヴィエト式の人民裁判に附することに、賛成したり或る人々は蔣元帥をどこか西北地方の秘密の場所に送つて南京政府が反共戰争を挽回するまで人質にして置かうといふことに賛成した。

この時までは蔣元帥誘拐の陰謀に共産黨が一役貢つてゐるといふことにつき外部にはつきり出るやうなことはなかつた。ところが、張學良が延安の共產黨本部に飛行機を送つて中共の指導者三人を西安に呼んでから、早速中共共產黨の手出しが日立つてきた。三人といふのは、第一駁紗赤軍政治委員會中、共產軍委員會副主席周鳳來、東方駁紗共產軍參謀長葉劍英及び共產黨秘密警察の首領バチ^{バチ}であり、他に秘書と補佐役數名が同伴した。三名の共產黨徒のうち周鳳來は、一九二

七年の国民大革命の當時共産党を代表して上海占領を企てて武装した労働者、労農者監察監視員（ビケ）を組織した男として知られてゐた。周は蔣介石元帥に捕へられたが釋放されたので數ヶ月モスクワに行き歸國と同時に陝西北部にある中共政権に參加した。

西安不法事件の犯人は、大して長時間を経ることなく自分たちの行爲の重大なことを悟るに至つた。特に重大なのはマスコウと東京が同時に夫々陰謀に共犯したことはないと否定し却つて相互に責任を負はせ合つて自らの罪を否認したことである。マスコウの諜新聞は、でかでかと記事を載せて蔣元帥誘拐は汪精衛と日本側の仕業であると彈劾し、東京の政府高官連は張學良元帥の行爲は共産党にけしかけられたものであると非難し更にこれは中國が直ちに防共協定に參加する必要性を説明する、「客觀的教訓」であると宣言した。

Ref Doc# 202-Q-4

東京の朝日新聞は井戸の「統一戦線」結成の宣傳はスペインでも中國でも同一であると述べ、又若し張學良がソヴィエト、ロシアと結んで抗日戦線を結成しようとするならば日本はその處置をとるに威嚇した。一方中國の自由主義的新聞大公報は、日本は西安事件を利用して防共協定に調印させるため中國に對する壓迫を強化したと告發し、東京日日新聞は朱徳、毛澤東の中國共産党は々々勢力を増強しつつ中國に於ける中心勢力を擴る機會を覗々として組つてゐると述べた。

not used

Excerpts from
Prosecution Witness JOHN B. POWELL's Book
"MY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN CHINA"

(New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945)

A Bear by the Tail

Pages 276 and 277.

T.V. Soong, former Finance Minister and Shanghai banker, who also played a prominent part in the negotiations for the Generalissimo's release, has likewise remained silent. The size of the check he is said to have handed over in exchange for the release for his illustrious brother-in-law has never been disclosed.

Since the Sian negotiations were conducted in secret and no official report of the outcome was published, there is still speculation as to what actually happened. The most obvious result of the Sian Incident was apparent just seven months later at Peiping. It was written in letters of blood for the world to read--war! War between China and Japan, and ultimately involving the entire world.

One result of the Sian Incident was an unexpected trip abroad for Dr. H.H. Kung, Minister of Finance in the Nanking Government. Dr. Kung's trip resulted from a confidential proposal of the Soviet Government that China take steps to form a military alliance against Japan. Moscow was especially anxious that the United States be brought into the alliance, but Soviet officialdom realized it would be futile for them to make the proposal. The Russians therefore urged China to send a mission abroad to sound out the various Power Russia, in fear of a Japanese attack, promised China full military support and agreed to send ample military supplies to the Chungking Government by way of the ancient highway across Sinkiang. Moscow also promised Nanking that there would be no further complications concerning the Chinese Communists, who would give their full support to the Central Government in its resistance to Japanese aggression. Dr. Kung did not realize the full import of his mission until he reached Berlin and was apprised of Germany's plans to wage war against the Soviet Union. Dr. Kung was told by the Nazi leaders to advise his government to join the Anti-Comintern Alliance of Germany-Japan Italy without delay.

When Dr. Kung reached Moscow he found the Russians had cooled on their proposal for a Chinese-United States-Soviet anti-Japanese alliance. Moscow now realized that war with Germany was inevitable and did not want to do anything to provoke the Japanese to attack Russia on the eastern flank. It was not long until the Chinese Communists also ceased their attacks on the Japanese army in north-western China.

検察官ジョン・B・ボウエル著

「私ノ二十五年ノ中國生活」

(一九四五年ニユーヨーク、マックミリヤン會社)

身動キ出來又體西亞

二七六頁及ビ二七七頁

前藏相ノ上海銀行家T・V・スウングハ元帥ノ事放交渉ニオイテ重要ナ
役割ヲシタガ同ジク沈默ヲ守ツテキル。彼ノ有名な義兄ノ釋放ノ代リニ
彼ガ渡シタトイハレテキル小切手ノ額ハ少シモワカラナイ
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守際ニハ何ガ起ツタノカトイフコトニツイテハマダ推測スルバカリデア
ル。西安事件ノ最モ明瞭ナ結果ハチヨウド七ヶ月後ニ北京デ明ラカニサ

レタ、ソレハ世界ニ對シテ血文字ヲモツテ毫カレタ威勢、トノフ語デアル、中、日本間ノ戰爭ソシテ終局ニオイテハ全世界ニ迄キ込ムトコロノ戰爭デアル

西支事件ノ一結果トシニ南京政府、既相孔祥熙博士ハ突然外國へ出カケタ、彼ノ旅行ノ結果トシテ「ソビエソビエソビエ」ノ稱號ノ由來ニヨリ中國ハソビエト詩曰「吾同盟ヲ結ブニ亞ウタ、一モアコウ」ヲハ特ニ日本國が同盟ニ加盟スルコトヲ證シテガソビエト官吏界ヲハ申出テシニ、無益デアリトソフコトヲ悟ツタ、ソロハ既而東ハ中國ニ領館ヲ外シニ派遣シテ諸國ニ布告スルコトヲ知シタ、又日本ノ攻撃ヲ歎シテ膺分からる援助ヲ約シ信江ヲ荷切ツテ昔ノ公宣カラ重慶政府ニ膺分ナ真實始終ヲアハリニ實成シタ、又一モスコウ一ハ南京ニ中國共聯軍ニ關シテハモリ國難テオコサヤコトテモ約東シタ、ソシテ中國共聯軍ハ中央政府方日本ノ勢はニ對スル反対ヲスル場合ニ充分ヲ支持ヲスルテアモウトイツタ。孔博士ハベルリソニ到着シテ科總ノ斷ソ威勢行ノ幹變ヲキカサレテ自分ノ使命ノ實現性テハジメテスツカリ悟ツタ、孔博士ハ「ナチ」ノ指導者等ニ東カニ日獨伊防共約定ニ加ハ

100.100.202-R-2

ルヨウニ政府ニ勧メルヨウニト云ハレタ

孔博士ガ「モスコウ」ニツイタ時ニハ西亞ハ中國、合衆國、ソビエツトノ對日同盟ラツクル提案ニツイテ前程ノ熱心サテミセナクナツテキタ、「モスコウ」デハ對日戰爭ガ今ハ不可避デアルコトテ悟リ日本ガソ聯ヲ宣傳カラ攻撃サセルヨウニ刺戟スルコトハシタガラナカツクノデアルソシテ間モナク中國英靈島モ中國ノ西北部デ日本ヲ攻撃スルコトテ止メタ

Rey
Excerpts from
Prosecution witness JOHN B. POWELL's Book
"MY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN CHINA"

(New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945)

Sequel of Sian

Page 278

Contrary to expectations in many quarters the outcome of the Sian Incident greatly enhanced Generalissimo Chian Kai-shek's prestige. Influential political and military leaders, particularly in the South, who had refused to give active support to Nanking, now declared their readiness to cooperate with the Generalissimo in opposing the Japanese. One of the Southern politico-military leaders who declared their readiness to support Generalissimo Chiang was General Tsai Ting-kai, famous Cantonese commander who had resisted the Japanese invasion of Shanghai early in 1932, following the Manchurian Incident. Later, General Tsai broke with Nanking and retired to the British Colony of Hong Kong. Two other important military commanders, General Pai Chung-hsi and General Li Tsung-jen of Kwangsi Province, both of whom had distinguished themselves in the Nationalist Revolution, also declared their readiness to support Chiang Kai-shek in resisting Japanese aggression. General Li Tsung-jen declared that in his opinion China could hold out against Japan for ten years.

Defense Doc. 202-5-1

辨證書類 二〇二一

一一一頁

（一九四九年六月二十二日アーヴィング著、支那於公私二年、拔萃（昭和三十年））

三、原“西宁事件”流篇

多々方面、期待已久、西安事件、結果、蒋介石大元帥、威信、非常高、南京政府、満漢支持、蒋介石、拒絕、居、有力、政治及軍事指導者達、特、南支那、於、也是等、人々、今、日本、反杭、於、蒋介石大元帥、協力、用意、アヒトヲ、宣言、外、蒋介石大元帥、支持、用意、アヒトヲ、宣言、外、所、南支、政治軍事指導者、一人、蔡廷楷將軍、アヒトヲ、彼、満洲事變、次、起、一九三三年（翻訳者注、昭和七年）、初期、日本、上海侵略、反杭、所、有名、廣東人、指導者、アヒトヲ、後、

革命軍は南京政府と絶交し香港、英植民地へ隠退した。
他、三人、重慶軍事指導者、廣西督、白崇禧將軍、李宗仁將軍、三人共國民主義革命の功を立テ、テアツクが、入日本、侵略を抵抗スルコトニ於テ蒋介石ヲ支持ス用意アリコトヲ宣言した。

李宗仁將軍の自伝、表題見テハ支那日本二对于十年間持テコトハコトが出来ト宣言シ。

Rey
Excerpts from
Prosecution witness JOHN B. POWELL's Book
"MY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN CHINA"

(New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945)

Sequel of Sian

Pages 279 and 280.

In mid-January of 1937 there was a report from Sian stating that an American woman "with communist sympathies and having connections with leftist groups in the United States" had arrived in Sian and had delivered several addresses before mass meetings of students. The report said that several Chinese Communist leaders, including Chu Teh, Mao Tseh-tung, Chou En-lai, and others had arrived in Sian to confer with her. The report alleged that the Shensi "War Lord, Yang Hu-cheng, had sent an ultimatum to Nanking declaring that if Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek "did not open war immediately on Japan, the Communist army would attack the Nanking Government."

Defense Doc 202-5-2

解説書類 一二一五二 二三頁

④

檢察側証人ジョセフ・ハウ著者支那於私、十五
五年、拔萃

(二二三一、二二三二丁) 会社、一九四五年
〔証言者註
〔昭和二十年〕)

西安事件、續篇

二七九頁及二八〇頁

一九三七年〔証言者註〕昭和十二年一月半、一、共產
主義者同情有沙合衆國於左翼團體上關係
有沙合衆國、婦人、西安、劉善之、學生大
會於、數回演説、行、報道が西安カラ
来る。報道、朱徳、毛沢東、周恩来及
三、他、人達、會公敵人、支那共產黨指導者
達、彼女、協議化為、西安、劉善之トコトテ
了心。報道、山西軍閥、揚州城、南京
政府、最後通牒、送り、若、蔣介石元帥が日
本討了、即時開戰、ナサナバ共產軍、南京
政府、攻撃スルガラト宣言、ナサナコトデナ。

Rey

Excerpts from
Prosecution Witness JOHN B. POWELL's Book
"MY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN CHINA"

(New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945)

Mounting Tension

Page 297

Chinese military commanders in Central and South China met at Nanking to consider the threatening situation, and the National Government decided to evacuate all Chinese residents from Japan. On August 7 the Japanese ordered the evacuation of all Japanese nationals from Hankow and other points in the Yangtze Valley and South China.

202-7-16
page 16
檢察側訴人言 B. 本件之著

示，三十二年，中國製造（三）紙幣

未 無

（三）三〇二二年十二月一九四五年

高之聚張

三文真

中部及南部，中國軍司令官達（南京）
之豫定市能（上海）會議（上海）
開中國政府（日本）中國居留民（銀）引
及（日本）決定（上海）日本當局（漢口）
及揚子江流域（南京）（上海）各地（全日
居留民，引揚子（上海）。

Excerpts from
Prosecution Witness JOHN B. POWELL's Book
"MY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN CHINA"

(New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945)

Mounting Tension

Pages 297 and 298.

That evening an officer and a sailor of the Japanese navy were shot and killed as they were trying to enter the Chinese airdrome at Hungjao on the outskirts of Shanghai, and a Chinese guard at the airdrome was also killed. The Japanese Consul, Okamoto, declared the incident was of a "grave nature" and had been reported to Tokyo for appropriate action. A huge exodus of Chinese residents of the Hongkew and Chapei districts of northern Shanghai began, as a result of rumors that the Japanese were contemplating military action in the next few days. Thousands of Chinese from the country districts to the north of Shanghai poured into the International Settlement and the French Concession.

The situation at Shanghai became rapidly worse. Japanese troops landed at Woosung, ten miles north of Shanghai, and also in the northern or Hongkew section of Shanghai itself. Heavy fighting of a hand-to-hand nature broke out in the northern district of Shanghai when Chinese troops attacked the invading Japanese. The Japanese battleship Idzumo, which was regarded by the Chinese as a symbol of Japanese aggression, was moved up the Whangpoo and anchored alongside the Japanese consulate, directly in front of the International Settlement. Japanese naval authorities at Shanghai announced that they would be "compelled to adopt defense measures" because of numerous Chinese acts of aggression, including the murder of the Japanese naval officer and his chauffeur on the evening of August 9. They also announced that they were prepared to take "any necessary steps if the situation was further aggravated."

The Chinese mayor of the city, O.K. Yui, demanded that America and Great Britain prevent Japan from using the northern or Hongkew sections of the city as a base of operations against China. Great Britain requested that Shanghai be excluded from the zone of Japanese-Chinese hostilities, but Japan's answer was that the request was "clearly unacceptable--Britain has asked us to do the impossible. Instead, the Japanese expelled the International Settlement Police, including the British, from the Hongkew section. Japanese bombers

Pages 297 and 298.

had already raided Hangchow, Nanchang, Nanking, Soochow, Chinkiang, and the Shanghai-Nanking Railway. The Chinese had curtailed railway traffic and declared martial law in all cities and districts adjacent to the railroads. At the same time, they ordered the lower Yangtze closed to navigation.

（被察側證人ジョン・バー・ボーウエルの著「中國滬在二十五年」の抜萃

（紐育、マクミラン會社 一九四五年）

高まりゆく緊迫

二九七頁並に二九八頁

194 Doc. 202-T-2
真夜日本海軍の一將校と一水兵が上海郊外の虹桥飛行場に入らうとして射殺され、同飛行場の一中國警備兵も亦殺された。岡本日本領事は本事件は重大であり、既に東京に報告され適當なる處置を仰いだと言明した。日本側は茲數日中に軍事行動を執らうと目論んでゐるとの流言の結果、上海北部の虹口、閘北地域の中國住民が押すを押すと逃げ

出し始めた。郊外から上海北部にかけての數千名の中國人が共同租界と
フランス租界に押寄せた。

上海の事態は急速に悪化した。日本軍は上海北方十區の吳淞と上海自
然の北部、虹口地區に上陸した。中國軍が侵入し来る日本軍に攻撃をか
けた際、激しい白兵戦が上海北部地域に勃發した。中國人が日本の侵略
の象徴と見做してゐた日本の駆逐艦は黃浦江を溯つて共同租界の以前
に在る日本領事館に並んで投錨した。日本の海軍當局は、止むを得ず防
衛措置を執るであらう。其理由は八月九日の夜日本海軍の士官並にその
運轉手が殺された事件もその一つである。中國側の攻撃的行爲が暴しい
からであると、聲明した。日本の海軍當局は亦事態が更に悪化すれば、
如何なる必要處置をも之を執る用意がある旨聲明した。

上海の中國人市長愈鴻鈞は米國並に英國が日本に市の北部即ち虹口地
區を作駁基地として使用させぬ様懇請した。英國は上海が日支の交駁地
帶とされぬ様懇請したが、右の懇請を「受諾することが出来ないのは明

144*202-F-2.

かだ、英國は吾々に不可能なことを強ひるものである」といふのが日本の回答であつた。その代りに、日本側は英國人も含む共同租界の警察官を虹口地区より追拂つた。日本の爆撃機は既に杭州、南昌、蘇州、鎮江並に京滬鐵路を襲撃してゐた。中國側は鐵道交通を切詰め鐵道に隣接してゐる總ての都市や地方に戒嚴令を布いた。同時に揚子江下流の航行封鎖を命じた。

not used

Excerpts from
Prosecution Witness JOHN B. POWELL's Book
"MY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN CHINA"

(New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945)

Mounting Tension

Pages 299, 300 and 301.

The worst carnage occurred at a street intersection between the International Settlement and the French Concession, about a mile from the Bund, where some 5,000 refugees had assembled to receive free rice dispensed by an amusement concern known as the "New World." The streets which crossed at this corner were main thoroughfares known as Yu-ya-ching Road and Avenue Edward VII. The traffic light in the center had just turned from green to red when a small motor car with three passengers, a man, woman and little girl, came to a stop, waiting for the traffic light to change. Hearing planes flying low over head, just skimming the tops of the business buildings, the driver of the car opened the door and stepped out in the street to investigate. Just as his feet touched the ground he uttered a cry, threw up his arms and dropped dead on the pavement. A machine-gun bullet had passed through his heart.

The victim, the first foreigner to be killed in the China-Japan war, was the Reverend Dr. Frank Rawlinson, editor of the Chinese Recorder, leading magazine of Protestant missions in China. Dr. Rawlinson was born in England and received his education in the United States, where he became a naturalized citizen. He was the outstanding pacifist in the missionary community in China. He was a strong and fearless opponent of Japanese militarism, and was also opposed to the militarization of China as a means of settling international differences in the Far East. Mrs. Rawlinson and their daughter were stunned at his collapse and, not realizing what had happened, they lifted him into the car and drove to a hospital. The car had just turned the corner when all hell broke loose in the wide crowded plaza at the street intersection behind them.

A Chinese plane, carrying two heavy bombs, had attempted to drop them on the Japanese battleship Idzumo, anchored in the Whangpoo harbor directly in front of the downtown section of the city. Before the Chinese plane could get in position for the delicate bombing operation, it was attacked by a Jap fighter. Badly wounded, the Chinese pilot attempted to return to the Tungjao Airdrome on the outskirts of the city, which was still

747

Pages 299, 300 and 301.

held by the Chinese forces. Realizing his inability to reach the Chinese base with his damaged plane and heavy load, he attempted to loose the bombs as he flew over the local race course. But the heavy explosives fell short of their mark by about three hundred yards, striking almost in the center of the plaza, crowded with the normally busy noon-time traffic of Shanghai streets, consisting of motor cars, rickshas, and pedestrians, plus the thousands of Chinese refugees who had gathered there for their free bowls of rice and tea.

The first bomb, exploding as it struck the asphalt street, apparently had detonated the second a few feet above the street level, causing its load of death-dealing explosives to spray across the crowded plaza. Dozens of motor cars and their occupants were riddled with shrapnel or incinerated by their exploding gasoline tanks, while hundreds of pedestrians were dropped in their tracks for a block in all directions. The worst carnage was among the crowd of refugees massed in front of the New World Amusement Center, where the food was being dispensed. Mangled bodies of men, women and children, with most of their clothing burned away, were heaped against the building to a height of five feet.

被蒙便監人ジョン・ビーチー・ホール著
「中國在二十三年」の序章

（後宮、マクミラン會社、一九〇五年）

高まりゆく異端

二九九頁、三〇〇頁迄三〇一頁

bandから凡そ一里ばかりの處にある、英國紳士とフランス紳士との間の街頭の交叉點で起つた騒動が記述のものである。英國に三千名ばかりの紳士が「新世界」として有名な興業會社の前を走はうとして集つてゐた。此角で交叉してゐる街頭は、良治橋頭と、エドワード七世街として知れ渡つてゐる六丁であつた。交叉點の中央にあ

るゴーストツブの信託者が丁度青から赤に變つた時、男と女と少女の三人の客を乗せた小型自動車が止り、信託者が變るのを待つた。飛行機が頭上低く両社の建物の天井すれ／＼に飛ぶのを耳にしてその自動車の運転手はドアを開けて調べようと街路に降りた。

足が地に就くや彼は叫聲をあげ両手をあげて輪轂にばつたり倒れて死んだ。機械が心臓を實現したのであつた。

この中日競争の犠牲者、最初に命を失つた外國人は、運転に在つたフランク、ローリンソン博士であり、博士は支那に於ける新教派の傳道者の一流師である「中西の記録集」の編輯者であつた。ローリンソン博士は英國に生れ合衆國で教育を受けたが、歸化して合衆國市民となつた。博士は中國の傳道界に於ける頭脳な平和主義者であり日本實業主義の頭頭且つ大膽なる反對者であつたし、又満東に於ける動盪紛爭を解決する手段としての中國の實業化にも亦反対であつた。ローリンソン夫人とお嬢さん即ち博士のヘナ／＼となつたのにびっくり仰天して何が起つたのかとも知らずに博士を自動車に乗せ、病院へ急いだ。

その自動車が正に角を曲つたとき彼等が後にした街の交叉點にある廣い
雄偉した廣場に爆発が放たれたのでめつた。

一中國機が二箇の大型爆弾を積んで上海市の下町並の真正面に當る袁
浦橋に碇泊してゐた日本の軍艦出雲を爆破しようとしてゐた。

右の中島機は細心の手際を以てする爆破操作の出来る位置に到達しない内
に日本の一駆逐機に攻撃された。直撃を受うたので、其の中国人の操縦
士は尙中間軍の手に確保されてゐた市の郊外に在る虹橋飛行場に墜落
としたが、その傍ついた飛行機と重い損傷を以てしては中日間の基地
に到達不可能なことを悟り、飛行場の上空を飛ぶときその爆弾を投下し
ようとしたが、爆弾は凡そ三百ヤードばかり的をはずれ、上空の街の
お午時の、自動車や人力車や歩行者の例の如く忙しい往來に加えて一椀
の茶と菓を含んものと集つた数千の中華人の羣衆でごつたがえして
ゐる廣場のほとんど真中に墜ちた。

最初の爆弾は直接に當つた時爆破したが、これが第二發との爆弾は路面
より二、三尺高をとて破裂し、その結果犠牲された無命の犠牲物は込み

合つてゐる廣場の上に飛び散つた。

何十臺といふ自動車とそれに乗つてゐた者は榴弾砲のために孔だらけになり或はそれらの自動車の燃燒したガソリンタンクの爲めに火薬自になつた。

一方何百人といふ歩行者はすべての方同の街區に亘つて其場で死んだ。爆発物である新世界の前に壁がつてゐた避難民がやられたのが一番ひどかつた。其處では食物の施しが行はれてゐたのであつたのであつた。被炸死になつた男女、子供等の死体は大抵は頭が搶けて無くなつてゐたが、立派も高く建物に向つて仰あがられた。

H.H

Wat. wood

Excerpts from
Prosecution Witness JOHN B. POWELL's Book
"MY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN CHINA"

(New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945)

Mounting Tension

Pages 302 and 303.

The other tragic happening of Black Saturday occurred within a few minutes of the first bombing. These bombs, five in number, were also aimed by Chinese aviators, flying Northrop bombers, at the Japanese battleship Idzumo in the harbor, but missed their mark by about five hundred yards and crashed into the busiest block of Nanking Road, Shanghai's main street, and directly in front of the city's two leading hotels, the Palace and the Cathay. This street was also crowded with Chinese refugees, several hundred being killed and wounded. Several foreigners were killed and others wounded at this point.

The same afternoon, another bomb struck the roof of the six-story office and warehouse of the United States Navy Purchasing Bureau, also located in the downtown section of the city and only about a block from the American consulate. This bomb, a freak hit, crashed through the concrete roof and five concrete floors and landed on the cement floor of the basement of the building without exploding. It contained the mark of a munitions house in Czechoslovakia. The nationality of the plane which dropped this bomb was never established. Some days later, another high explosive missile, either a bomb from a plane or a shell from a naval gun, struck the fronts of, and seriously damaged, Shanghai's two largest Chinese department stores. Here the casualties were numerous, both within the crowded stores and in the streets.

attacted

Ref. no. 202-T-5

検察側證人ジョン・ビー・ボウエル著「中國滬在二十五年」の抜萃

(紹興、マクミラン會社、一九四五年)

高まりゆく緊迫

三〇二頁並に三〇三頁

暗い土曜日の、も一つの悲惨を出来事の起つたのは、最初の爆撃があつてから二、三分と経たぬうちであつた。今度の五つの爆弾も亦ノースロット爆撃機を飛ばせた中國人飛行士が黃浦港に碇泊中の日本の駆逐出雲を狙つたものであるが、五百ヤード程的をはづれ、上海の本通りである南京路の一番の繁華街に、しかも上海市の一流ホテルである。パレスホテルとカセイホテルの眞前に轟然炸裂した。この戻りも亦中國人の遭

難民で一杯で、數百名の死傷を生じた。此處で數名の外國人が斃命し、其他負傷者を生じた。

更更に同日の午後、合衆國海軍購買局の六階建の事務所と倉庫の屋根に爆弾が落ちた。この購買局も亦下町地區に在りアメリカ領事館から僅かに一區間離れたところに在つた。此爆弾はまぐれ當りであつたが、コンクリートの屋根と一階から五階までのコンクリートの床を当然量いて爆破せずに地下室のセメントの床に止つた。その爆弾に付チエツコスロバキヤの一日需會社のマークが付いてゐた。此の爆弾を落した飛行機の国籍は判明しなかつた。當日たつてから更に一挺機銃性の高い飛道具が、それは飛行機からの爆弾か若くは海軍砲からの砲弾であるが、上海最大の二つの支那人百貨店の正面に命中し、之にひどい損害を與へたが、此處での死傷は込み合つた店内と街頭とで夥しいものであつた。

Excerpts from
Prosecution Witness JOHN B. POWELL's Book
"MY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN CHINA"

(New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945)

American Ships, Japanese Bombs, In 1937

Page 319.

The most complete and connected account of the attack, showing unmistakably that it was deliberate, was given by a young Annapolis graduate, Lieutenant John Willard Geist, who was aboard the Panay at the time of the incident and accompanied the survivors on the long trek along the river bank at night until they were picked up several hours later by the surviving American and British boats. Lieutenant Geist said the Panay was bombed by two flights of Japanese planes, the first consisting of three planes and the second of six planes. He said the first Jap bombs were dropped with remarkable accuracy from an altitude of approximately 7,000 feet. Practically all of the bombs either hit their mark or fell so near as to cause serious damage to the ships.

out word

Defence Doc. 202 u -4

Page 128

「族察側証人」ジン・ビ・ホセウ著
和、三五年間、中國生活、ヨリ、接幕

* * *

10

(一九四五年十二月八日會社 一九四五年)

一九三七年，「立川丸」汽船在日本爆燭

三一九頁

Excerpts from
Prosecution Witness JOHN B. POWELL's Book
"MY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN CHINA"

(New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945)

The Pressure Increases

Pages 326 and 327.

The chief defender of foreign interests in the midst of these developments was an American citizen named Stirling Fessenden, who occupied the post of secretary-general of the International Settlement, a position resembling that of city manager in the United States. Fessenden was elected chairman of the Municipal Council of the International Settlement in the early 1920's, and was familiarly known as "Lord Mayor" of the city for nearly two decades. He was finally forced to resign, in 1939, as a result of failing eyesight.

Fessenden was born at Fort Fairfield, Maine, and after graduation from Bowdoin College he went to Shanghai as a young law school graduate in 1904 on a mission for the old American Trading Company of New York. He remained to become an important figure in the hectic politics of the International Settlement, wherein lived almost half of Shanghai's 3,500,000 people, including nearly 100,000 foreigners of various nationalities. Fessenden had a wide acquaintance in both the foreign and the Chinese communities and, of particular importance, enjoyed their confidence and respect. During the long period of anti-foreign agitations beginning in 1925, Fessenden was the only foreign official in Shanghai who was in constant contact with the Chinese leaders. On no less than three occasions he was credited with "saving" the Settlement from possible occupation by hostile Chinese factions. The most serious threat was in 1927, when he blocked the Communists' attempt to take over the Settlement. On another occasion he blocked an attempt of the Diplomatic Body in Peiping to "take over" the Settlement and abolish its elective form of government.

not used

DEF LOC # 202-V-1

禁書側書證二〇二四一

検事側證人「ジョン・ビーベウエル」著「左文二十五年間」ヨリノ抜萃
（一九四五年ニユーヨーク、マクミラン社發行）

觀歴ハ募リテ

之館ノ事件ノ進展ノ最中ニアツテ外國ノ利害ノ錯謬ニ當ツタノハ主ト
シテ「スマーリング、フェツセンデン」トイフ、米人デアリマシタ。彼
ハ米ニオケル市長トイツタ地位デアル共同租界ノ事務総長ノ地位ヲ占
メテ居リマシタ。

「フェツセンデン」ハ一九二〇年代初頭ニ共同租界ノ市長ニ
選バレ、約二十年間ニ汎ツテ同市ノ「市長」（ロード、メアートシテ詣
知ラスモノモアリマセンデシタ。一九三九年迄ニ辭職ノ止ムナキニ至リ
マシタガ、ソレハ視力減退ノ爲デアリマシタ。

「フェツセンデン」ハ「メイン」州ノ「フォート、フェアファイールド」
ニ生レ「ボードイン」大卒業後、一九〇四年ニ若イ法律學校出身者ト

シテ「ニューヨーク」ノ古イ貿易會社カラ使命ヲ帶ビテ上海ニヨリマシタ。彼ハズツト貢獻ニ止ツテ、共同租界ノ困難ナ政界ノ大立物トナリマシタ。

共同租界ニハ、上海ノ總人口三百五十萬中ノ殆ンド半數ガ居住シテ居リソノ中ニハ凡ソ十萬ノ種々ノ國籍ニ屬スル外國人ガ含マレテキマシタ。「フェツセンデン」ハ外人ノ間ニモ中國人ノ間ニモ共ニ廣イ面識ヲ有シ特ニ重要ナノハ、コレラノ人々ノ信賴ト尊敬ヲ集メテ居タコトデアリマス。彼ハ一九二五年ニ始ル長イ排外運動ノ期間ニアツテ、中國人ノ指導者ト相應ラズ交際ヲ續ケテキタ上海デ唯一人ノ外人官吏デアリマシタ。共同租界ガ排外的ナ中國人ノ徒黨ニ占領サレサウニナツタ時之ヲ三度迄救ツタノハ彼ノ功大トイハレテ居リマス。最モ憂慮サレタ舊城ハ一九二七年ニオコツタノデアリ、ソノ時彼ハ共產黨主義者ニヨル租界奪取ノ試ミヲ阻ンダノデアリマス。

父、彼ハ、北平ノ外交團ガ租界ヲ奪取シテ遷擧ニヨル政治様式ヲ廢棄セントシタ時、之ヲ阻止致シマシタ。

not used

Excerpts from
Prosecution Witness JOHN B. POWELL's Book
"MY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN CHINA"

(New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945)

The Pressure Increases

Page 333

Although the American community in Shanghai, businessmen as well as missionaries, were convinced of the certainty of a general war in the Far East which would involve the United States, there was the equally definite feeling among the members of the community that our people at home did not realize the seriousness of the situation, or its implications from the standpoint of the future welfare and security of the United States.

As a result of this conviction, the American Information Committee was organized for the purpose of disseminating in the United States information regarding the threatening aspects of the crisis created by the Japanese occupation. Headed by a missionary named Edwin Marks, the committee included in its membership a large number of representatives of American business organizations and mission bodies, and two or three journalists. None received pay for his or her services, because everyone was prompted by an intense desire to contribute toward a better home understanding of the crisis. Members of the community who were familiar with various phases of the situation were called upon to prepare authenticated reports dealing with various phases of the Japanese occupation, and its effect on the lives and activities of both foreigners and Chinese. Thousands of booklets were prepared for distribution in the United States to newspapers, chambers of commerce, civic associations, etc. Funds covering the cost of printing and postage were raised in the American community, and members of the committee volunteered their services in smuggling the booklets aboard non-Japanese ships bound for the United States.

檢察側證人ジョン、ビー、ボウエルの著書
「吾在支二十五年」より抜萃

× × ×

(ニュウヨーク、マツクミラン會社一九四五年)

監 索 端 加 斯

三三三頁

右上海の米国人、即ち宣教師とか實業家達は米國を焼き込むならむ極東に於ける全般的競争の必然性を信じて居つたが、本國の我國民は事態の重要性、或は米國の將來の繁榮及保障の觀點よりする事態の開拓性を悟つて居ないといふ感情が一様に明らかに同米国人の間にあつた。

この確信の結果として、日本軍の占領により惹起せられたところの切迫せる危機の状況に關し情報を米國々内に宣傳せんが爲に米國情報委員會が組織された。エドウイン、マーク宣教師指揮の下に、同委員會はその會員中に多數の米國實業家團体及布教團体の代表者、且二三のジャーナリストを包含して居た。誰も彼も無報酬で盡した、それはこの危機に

對する本國の理解を深めんが爲に貢獻せんとする烈しい願望に皆が促されて居たからである。事態の各方面に精通せる人々は、各般に亘り日本軍の占領及その外國人及中華民國人の生活範圍に對する影響に關して、確證ある情報を作成することを要求せられた。何千冊の小冊子が米國の各新聞社商工會議所、民間團体等に領布の爲準備せられた。印刷及郵税の總額を賄ふ基金は米國人の間に於て調達せられ、又日本國籍ならざる米國向汽船に該小冊子を密かに積込むことに同委員會の會員達がその盡力を進んで申し出た。